THE HIJRAH

THE NECESSITY OF
ITS *IQĀMAT*
OR
VERGEGENW'ARTIGUNG

ISMAIL R. AL FARUQI

NATIONAL HIJRA COUNCIL
ISLAMABAD - PAKISTAN
1405 A.H./1985 A.C.

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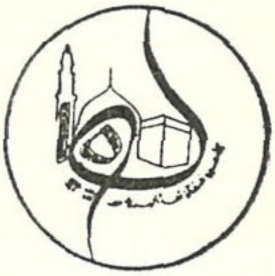

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We are grateful to our learned brother Dr. Isma'il R. al Faruqi (President, International Institute of Islamic Thought, 323 Bent Road, Wyncote, Pennsylvania 19095, U.S.A.) for having contributed this valuable monograph on the concept of HIJRA - its essence and implications in the context of the Umma's need for a practical programme of action.

N. A. BALOCH
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I

The "Hijrah" and its Celebration

"Hijrah" literally means "emigration," or "self-separation from one's fellows or country." Technically, *i.e.*, as an Islāmic term, it means the departure of the Prophet Muḥammad-*ṣallā Allah 'alayh wa sallam*—from Makkah al-Mukarramah, his birthplace and city, to Yathrib, from that time to be known as "Madīnat al-Nabiyy" or "al-Madīnah al-Munawwarah," and his arrival there on September 24, 622 A.C. Under the caliphate of 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb—*radiya Allah '—anh* the Hijrah—*in the* technical sense—was resolved to be the most crucial event in the history of Islām, and its date was declared the beginning of Islāmic history. The birth and death of the Prophet were bypassed, though dating great movements by the birth and death of their founders was certainly known to the Muslims. Likewise, the first revelation of the Holy Qur'ān, and every other event in the life of the Prophet (ṢAAS) were by that decision declared to be secondary to the Hijrah.

Traditionally, the most popular understanding of the Hijrah among Muslims concentrated on the persecution of the Prophet (ṢAAS) and his companions by the Makkans, a perspective from which the Hijrah looked like an escape or flight from imminent danger. Abū Sufyān and Abū Jahl, leaders of Makkah, and their colleagues were the vilains ;. 'Ali ibn Abū Ṭālib (RAA) was the willing ploy, and Muḥammad (ṢAAS) was the hero in an assassination plot designed to terminate the Prophet's life and knock out his movement. The successful "escape" from this evil design, the miraculous cover-up of the Prophet's hiding place in the cave (which Hijrah celebrations around the world have expressed by adopting the spider's web spun across the opening of the cave as logo, the Prophet's marvelous composure in front of danger and trust in Allah contrasted with the burning fear of his companion, Abu Bakr (RAA), the faithfulness of his shrewd servant who brought daily provisions to the hiding place and carefully wiped out all traces of his trip across the sands, the equally miraculous collapse of Surāqah and his horse, who came dangerously close to undoing the Hijrah, and finally the victorious entry of the Prophet into Madīnah—all these were the true elements of a story told and retold millions of times and enjoyed by Muslims everywhere.

The historians of Islām mention other incidences of Hijrah which Muslims regarded as less important though application of the name "Hijrah" to them is correct. These include the following events : emigration from Makkah to Abyssinia which began in 615 A.C. ("five years after the beginning of the Qur'ānic revelation") of twelve Muslim men and four women, followed by about a hundred others in the course of the following years among whom were some of the greatest of the Prophet's companions, *viz.*, 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān, Ja'far ibn Abū Ṭālib, 'Abdullah ibn Mas'ud (RAA). Their emigration persisted despite Makkah's request for their extradition. The beautiful answers of Ja'far ibn Abū Ṭālib to the Christian king, explaining the reasons for the Muslims' emigration to Abyssinia, defining the Islāmic position on Makkan idolatry and immorality, on Jesus Christ and his mother ('alayha al-salām), on personal and social ethics, are known to adults and school children. The Hijrah to Abyssinia was interrupted voluntarily when the Muslims heard of the conversion of 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb (RAA) and thought that the Muslim party had thereby become strong enough not to be persecuted. Instead of abating, however, persecution increased, and the returnees had to migrate again in 616 A.C. in greater numbers. All returned after the main Hijrah event (622 A.C.) which brought about the establishment of the first Islāmic state in Madīnah.

Rightly, Muslims point to the difference between the earlier and later Hijrahs (615-6 and 622) which make the later far more important than the earlier. The Hijrah to Abyssinia was a movement from persecution to security. It involved nothing more than the Muslims' search for safety for their persons and freedom to practise their new religion. The Hijrah to Madīnah achieved those same results; but its objectives went far beyond personal security. It was the culmination of a long search for a safe base from which propagation of the new faith could be, and indeed was, continued. It was equally the establishment of Muslims as society, as social order and state. The former Hijrah was indeed a flight, a passive exodus to safety; the later Hijrah was a crucial step in a strategy which aimed at transforming the world and directing its history to new ends.

Biographers of the Prophet have also called "Hijrah" the Prophet's excursion to Ṭā'if, undertaken to win its tribesmen to Islām and rally them against his Makkan persecutors. Ṭā'if rejected the Prophet's invitation, pelted him with stones, and forced him at great peril to return to Makkah. The fact that before his return, the Prophet (ṢAAS) invoked and obtained the protection under tribal law of a non-Muslim Makkan friend, Muṭ'am ibn 'Adiyy, convinced those historians that the Prophet must have intended to forsake Makkah for Ṭā'if, that he must have spoken to Ṭā'if in that vein. Only such assumption can explain the fact of the Prophet's invocation of ibn 'Adiyy's protection (*i.e.*, renewal of his belonging under the tribal umbrella of Makkah), thus justifying the thought that the excursion to Ṭā'if was indeed a deliberate exit from the tribal protective system of Makkah under which the Prophet (ṢAAS) lived and maintained his personal security.

"Hijrah" is not restricted to these historical events to which it applies both as a linguistic and as a technical term. The term has acquired several figurative meanings having religious and moral content. Transvaluation of ancient Arabic terms was a process typical of Islām. Numerous Arabic words were transformed by Qur'ānic and hence Islāmic usage into "Islāmic" technical terms, carrying a religious meaning or value associated exclusively with Islām. Such are the terms *ṣlāt*, *īmān*, *islām*, *zakāt*, *ḥajj*, *tasbīḥ*, *taqwā*, *tasmiyāh*, *istiā·dhah*, etc. In this vein, the Holy Qur'ān has used conjugations of the term "Hijrah" in the command to avoid evil,[1] to turn away from the disobedient wife,[2] to lend no ear to —— and hence, to flout the Qur'ān,[3] to leave the unbelieving parent with becoming dignity and decorum rather than offence.[4] to return to God in expectation of receiving His guidance,[5] to leave one's place or conditions for the sake of God.[6] All these are new meanings invested into the root term "h-j-r" and its derivatives by Islām. In Muslim minds these ethico-religious meanings have overshadowed the linguistic literal meaning of the verb "*hajara*" "to emigrate". "*Hajara*" became the greatest religious exercise, namely, to forsake the petty pursuits of this world for the disciplines of piety, the commitment of one's energies to self-purification and ennoblement, to the study of the sciences of the faith, to a life of service to God, knowledge and mankind. In any one of these meanings, one could "emigrate" without ever leaving his house, although in countless cases some spatial movement or transfer to another centre of learning or worship, another field of mission or research, corroborated tha spiritual emigration. Throughout history, the main mosques of the Muslim world served as living quarters for countless generations of pious men who came thither only to pursue learning, to teach and preach the loftier vision, to deepen the Islāmic insight of men and women. These *ēmigrēs* were never organized into an order, nor did they ever expect a reward other than their Lord's, for Whose sake they had undertaken their hijrah. The Jamā'at Tablīgh Society of today contains their direct descendants ; and similar were the wandering *'ulamā'* *ṣūfīs* and missionaries of Islām who plied the land and sea lanes of the world to raise their fellowmen to the heights of Islāmic piety and morality.

While the ethico-religious meanings were implied and understood whenever the root term was conjugated to apply to present action, the substantive "Hijrah" "emigration", when specified by the demonstrative "*al*" ("the") applied exclusively to the emigration of the Prophet (ṢAAS) in 622 A.C. This appelation belonged to that single event in the Prophet's life, which persisted in Muslim consciousness throughout the ages as the supreme event of Islāmic history. By the participial noun "*al-Muhajirūn*" (literally, "the emigrants") Muslims have always understood the Makkans who emigrated from Makkah to Madīnah under the leadership of the Prophet Muḥammad (ṢAAS).

II

Iqamat al-Hijrah or its Vergegenwartigung

To the more sensitive Islāmic conscience, *iqāmat* of (or "celebrating") the Hijrah was, in addition to commemorating the great event, a yearly occasion to re-live the experience of the Prophet (ṢAAS) which it signifies. The Prophet's experience was an infinite well from which the highest values of piety and morality could be and were derived. From this point of view, the Hijrah becomes an act—the highest of which man is capable, Its destination is neither spatial, nor personal, but the societal fulfilment of divine will. In this respect, the *iqamāt al-Hijrah* was a sort of "making present again," a genuine *Vergegenwārtigung* of the Prophet's emigration. To *aqāma* (or "celebrate") it, is to accompany the Prophet (ṢAAS) in a flight from the *status quo* to a projected ideal "Madīnah" without of course ever leaving one's town or village, and there to live one's life as if the movement of Islām were to begin all over again under the living, indeed all too "present," authority and leadership of Muḥammad (ṢAAS). Thus to *aqāma* the Hijrah is so to relate oneself to that past event as to make its meanings and values determine the present and the future. More precisely, for those capable of self-transcendence, the celebration of the Hijrah is an occasion to enable the values inherent in the experience to energize and move the soul, to quicken consciousness so as to make it apprehend them in its contemporary life and experience. Then, determined by these values, the conscious *muqīm* or "celebrant" will so re-order his life as to bring about their actualization. It is an invasion of the ethos by forces hitherto alien to it, and a deflection by them of the very course of life to ends which would never be actualized without such invasion. Its appeal is irresistible : To be in the company of the beloved Prophet (ṢAAS) ; to live under his shadow ; to be inspired—indeed ordered about—by him and to relive with him the last ten years of his life, participating in every one of his activities during those ten years as if one were there, one of his companions. *Iqāmat* ("celebration") of the Hijrah is not therefore limited to its date in the calendar year. It can be held any day, every day of the year. Indeed, one's whole life may be one Continuous *iqāmāt al-Hijrah* in the cause of Allah. In this sense, the historical event becomes trans-spatial and *trans*-temporal. It becomes a category of consciousness.

A. SEEKING THE ISLĀMIC STATE : DA'WAH TO MUSLIMS

1. The Essence of the Hijrah

The wisdom of hindsight is that of seeing the individual items composing a life or a period of history in relation to all other items. This comprehensive perspective enables one to assign priorities and to distinguish between the items on the basis of their place of importance in the total scheme, of their conducibleness to the ultimate ends. As a complex of events, *meanings and purposes, the Hijrah must have an essence which* hindsight should discover, and establish as criterion, or central principle, unifying and ordering all other items into a structure. What is that essence ?

It is in this sense that we plan to take the 1400th celebration of the "Hijrah", seeking to disclose the deepest meanings inherent in the Prophet's experience ; and, by laying them bare before the understanding of contemporary Muslims, enable these meanings to move and energize them. We mean that the *iqāmat al-Hijrah* is not merely an entry into the past event, the comlexities of a historical situation as in a dream. It is no exercise in *phantasmagoria, of transporting oneself in the imagination* into the past, therein to cruise amidst its shifting scenes and fill one's soul with bliss. *Iqāmat* necessarily implies actualization, concretization in waking reality, in the present space, at the present time. Real reality and present presence are inseparable from it. An *iqamat* that is a flight from reality or from the present is a contradiction in terms. No *iqāmat* is therefore possible in the abstract ; it must be related to concrete experience. For if values are to speak, they do so only by determining real life. Their reality is their actual affectation of the existent so as to conform to their imperative, to the ideal ought-to-be emitted by and from them.

Nor can this affectation of present reality by values inherent in the Hijrah be a passing event. It must be persisting. "*Iqāmat al-Ṣalāt*" is indeed the actualization of *ṣalāt* in the present for the period (10-15 minutes) that it takes to perform an individual *ṣalāt* such as *ṣalāt al-fajr*, *al-zuhr*, etc. But the Qur'ānic usage of "*Iqāmat al-ṣalat*" which occurs in a hundred or more verses (*e g.*, 2 : 2, 43, 83, 110, 176, 229, 277 ; 7 : 169 ; 9 : 6, 12 ; 13 : 24) refers to all time, and expresses persistent observance of the ritual at all times, throughout the whole future. Indeed, it is this persistence in the actualization of the command that makes possible the usage of the term "*iqāmat*" or its derivatives in the Qur'ān regarding the Torah (5 : 71), *al-dīn* (42 : 13) ; the just measure (55 : 9) ; the right witness (65 : 2) ; justice and righteousness (4 : 134). It would be ridiculous to specify a time, for instance, for such actualization (*iqāmat*) of one's witness (70 : 33), or one's dedication to actualize the will of God (5 : 9).

We may therefore conclude that the *iqāmat al-Hijrah* in which we are involved on the occasion of the turn of the Fifteenth Century concerns the actualization of the Hijrah values by Muslims today around the globe. Their presence in every corner of earth is the real existent *material* to be affected and transformed by these values. And since Muslims have emigrated far and wide in this century and planted Islām in regions where it hardly ever existed before, such as the Americas, Western Europe and Japan, the question becomes extremely relevant: What does the *Iqāmat* or *Vergegenwärtigung*, of the Hijrah mean for these new Muslim *muhājirūn* or expatriates in America and other places? How does the re-living of the Prophet's Hijrah-experience in America and Western Europe determine the life of Muslims? To what ultimate objectives is it expected to alter their careers and guide their energies?

For a dozen years before the Hijrah, the Prophet taught incessantly and indefatiguably what he had received from Allah —*subḥānahu wa ta'ālū*. Through revelation, Allah (SWT) taught His Prophet (SAAS) a lesson and instilled in him a vision which he was to convey to the people. This vision, expressed in the shahāh's brief statement, was a total philosophy, a view of reality and life, of origin and destiny. It presented itself as the truth, as all that man needs to know, all that he must do to achieve felicity on earth and in heaven. The first part of the shahādah, namely, *Lā illahā illā Allah*, means that Allah is indeed Allah, and that no other being is so. The second part, namely, *Muḥammad rasūl Allah*, means that what the Prophet (SAAS) had conveyed is indeed the word of Allah revealed to him. That there is no God but God is not a tautology. Brief as it is, it includes all the elements of which the religion of Islām is composed:

(1) Allah (ṢWT) is the Creator, Ultimate Cause and Sustainer, Lord-of-Creation. He created it from nothing; He causes everything in it to be, every event to happen. He is its Lord and Master, Whose commandments are imbedded in creation and constitute its laws and patterns. It is a perfect world because He is its Originator, Designer and Maker. Nothing stands outside His determination. Its orderliness knows no gaps. Whatever regularity exists in creation is of His prevision, or His making. Nothing is *sui generis*, except Him.

(2) Allah (SWT) is the Ultimate Good, the Ultimate Source of all goodness. He is the "End" of all ends, the last purpose and objective of all and everything that is. Creation

was created for His sake. Everything in it is subservient to Him. It has no reason for being other than to serve Him, to fulfil His purpose. That is the sole significance of its existence. Nothing in creation is in vain ; nothing is the law, or purpose, unto itself.

(3) Allah's service is man's *raison d'ētre*. Man is Allah's *khalīfah* or vicegerent, created perfect, *i.e.*, equipped with all the faculties and provided with all the *matēriel* required for rendering service to Allah (SWT). The content of this service is the doing of the good deeds in this world, in this life, in this history, the actualization of Allah's pattern, *i.e.*, the building of culture and civilization, the filling of the world with value, the formation and persistence of genius, of heroism and saintliness, the actualization of truth, justice and beauty, their maintenance as ultimate realization of the absolute in history.

(4) Allah's justice is absolute ; and man's freedom to obey and fulfil, or to disobey and destroy, must and will be judged by Allah (SWT). Blest or unblest, man will get what he deserves ; what his motives, *as well as his deeds*, have earned. Allah's judgment is imminent as well as eschatological. It strikes man in this world and on the Day of Judgment. This "Last Day" will be full of horror and terror for the losers, of bliss and joy for the winners. Human responsibility is the supreme virtue, the very core of piety, the distinctive superiority above creation, above the angels.[7]

This was the vision Allah (SWT) had revealed to His Prophet (ṢAAS) and by which the Prophet was possessed. His soul was "ablaze" with it, his preoccupation with and commitment to it knowing no bounds. The vision itself was not new. Other prophets before him had received it from Allah and conveyed it to their peoples in their own tongues.[8] Memories of it among the peoples of the world persisted down to the Prophet's days. The Arab *Ḥanīfs* had a recollection of it.[9] No one, however, could articulate the vision. It lay covered by the accretions of history. The passion, prejudice and whimsy of some, the laziness and forgetfulness of all, had played havoc with the vision. Its passage from one cultural milieu to another twisted and bungled it further. The situation called for a re-statement which would purge and clarify the vision, a re-statement which would crystallize, and thus restore to it the sublime transparency and moving appeal which properly belongs to a message from the Divine Source. This was the task which fell by divine choice and decree to Muḥammad (ṢAAS). The environment in which he lived was ready to receive such a re-statement of the message, culturally and spiritually, despite its apparent idolatry and moral decay. The Prophet Muḥammad (SAAS) rose to the occasion. After some fear and hesitation at the beginning, which revelation itself took care to dissipate and to reassure him that the mission was real and that he was truly chosen by Allah (SWT) for it,[10] he firmly stood by the calling, regardless of the peril to which it exposed him. He conveyed the message of Heaven completely, in absolute fidelity to its divine Source. And he delivered it to some 30,000 companions, in a text so integral and authentic, so beautiful, so different and so unique in its style and composition.

The statement was to be in sublime and inimitable (*mu'jiz*) form. It was to be for ever incorruptible, for ever capable of being understood by Muslim or non-Muslim, Arabic-speaking or otherwise, if one were to learn its language, divest oneself of old prejudice and passion, and allow reason to dominate consciousness. Al-Qur'ān, the text of the revelation that came to Muḥammad, is without doubt the very text we have today in our hands, every sūrah, every verse, every word and letter, every vocalization. This constitutes an absolutely unique event in all human history. No human group except the Muslims possess a complete and integral record of what they themselves regard as the revelation from God. And, unlike any other people, the Muslims have possessed and continuously used to the centuries the language of the Qur'ān and all the tools necessary for understanding it as the Prophet (ṢAAS) and his companions had done fourteen centuries ago. This has not been true of any other divine message. The permanence of this message, or rather, its eternal availability for the ready use of *human understanding, is a marvel, the work of its divine* Author. No wonder, therefore, that Allah Himself has pledged to keep it intact for the rest of eternity.[11]

But Muḥammad (ṢAAS) was to be the recipient of more than the *old vision ; for more was needed* than its mere reaffirmation and restatement. Those who have remained true to the revealed visions of the past have adopted ways of actualizing them which led to their very negation. In their zeal to conserve and cling to the revelation of Moses, for instance, the Jews had taken the Torah or the revealed law, expanded it to cover such infinitesimal details as to make it an unbearable yoke, and then raised the letter above the revelation and its essence. The result was an exaggerated ethnocentrism, and an absurd legalism, both of which were the opposite of piety and morality. The Christians, for another instance, exaggerated the personal values of the soul, radically separated the spirit from matter, condemned the world and history and invented monkery all to the end of developing a high spirituality. By so doing, however, they emptied spirituality of its revelance to the world, to life and history. They made of it a vacuous psychotropic transport of the soul. The world became in their view the ungodly, satanic "realm of Caesar." Men regarded this very satanicness as the normal order outside the Church, and shared in the satanic work at full tilt. The Church provided them with occasion to repent, to confess, be forgiven and start all over again. Christian spirituality was professionalized by the Church and monopolized by the priesthood, removing the laity farther away from it. Even altruism was twisted by the monks to make of the self-giving, self-effacing act an egotistic exercise at self-salvation. That is why the revelation of Muḥammad (ṢAAS) had to add to the old vision of the previous prophets the conditions of its perpetual actualization, namely, preservation of the integrity of its text as well as of the *language apparatus necessary for its understanding.*

To acquire the faith, *i.e.*, to learn the vision, to make its values the sole determinants of one's soul, to bring the vision into total possession of one's consciousness so that it affects all its states, does not shield the message against misapplication. Between the understanding, the will and action, or the discharge of causal efficacy in space and time, many forces can intervene to abort the effort and bring about actualization of a different content than the original meaning of the message implied. The soul's possession of the vision, or its possession by the vision, cannot be but the condition of actualization, a preparation for it. Neither the vision itself nor its possession is the end, the ultimate purpose of God for which He revealed the vision. That purpose is that the vision may become historical reality by the "*agere*" of man, his *khilāfah* or vicegerency, his action with his organs, by his '*amal bil arkān* (action with bodily organs), to use the terms of the *sharī'ah*. The vision had to be objectified in the deed and the deeds have to actualize the vision in their very affection of the course of events in the world.

The Prophet's religious experience, his communion with divinity in the cave of Ḥirā' was not the end, great as it may be in value. The end was to send him to the rough and tumble of Makkah, to the market-places of mankind, and there to alter the course of history and to change the world so as to make it accord with the vision revealed. In their zeal for the internalization of the spiritual and personalization of all religion, the Ṣūfīs have held that the Prophet's descent from the heavenly heights of Mount Ḥirā' was an *Untergang*. For the overwhelming majority of Muslims, the Prophet's descent to Makkah was an ascent to the higher value of value actualization-in-real-history. The former value is instrumental and *ipso facto* lower; the latter, final and *ipso facto* the higher, the more conditioned, value. The Ḥirā' experience was the propadeutic to the real work which is to fulfil the divine purpose, namely, to take the world and history by the horns, to bend and redirect them so as to actualize the divine pattern in their very matter, in their body and phenomenality, in their tendency and direction. A realization of the divine pattern in the internal, personal life of the soul alone is a truncation of the divine will. All this had to be built into the vision. That is why, in the case of Islām, the revelation had to be composite : The Qur'ān as the infallible text of the vision, of Islām's first principles; and the *Sunnah* of the Prophet (ṢAAS) as the equally infallible concretization, figurization and instantiation of the vision. That is why the Qur'ān declared the *Sunnah* normative for Muslims, a real clarification of the whole revelation.

As Caliph 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb had found and decided with all the Prophet,s companions (RAA), the Hijrah was the culmination of the *Sunnah*. Allah commanded His Prophet to emigrate only when the preparation was complete, a process which took a dozen years, the whole Makkan period. Rather than being an accident of history, an exigency of the course of Makkan persecution and assassination plans, an undesirable necessity — in short, an escape — the Hijrah is the logical outcome of the whole Makkan revelation, the *terminus ad quemof* the preparation. and the *terminus a quo* of Islām's world movement. The Prophet launched that movement upon arrival in Madīnah, before a lodging could be built for him and his family. On the first day of the Hijrah, he entered into consultation with his companions, with the Muslim Madīnese, with leaders of both the Aws and Khazraj tribes, with their Jewish and other non-Muslim clients, with the tribes living in the vicinity and suburbs of Madīnah and achieved total agreement with each and every one of them. He sealed this agreement with a written covenant (the Covenant of Madīnah) which he himself dictated and to which he obtained the concurrence of all parties. The signing of this covenant was the establishment of the first Islāmic state and the endowment of that state with a written and fixed constitution. The Hijrah equally brought about the founding of a pluralistic society with a pluralistic legal system which enabled each segment of the constituents to order the lives of its members according to its religion, its tradition and genius, to keep and develop its own institutions. Above all, it made Islām a legal, social, economic, political and military being, a state. The Hijrah launched the state as a contending force in the world, a world-state *in potentia*, and prescribed for it the task of establishing a new world order, of bringing the nations of mankind to live together in peace, or securing the freedom of the truth. Finally, the Hijrah charged the infant world state with defending the new world order, with upholding of the *sharī'ah*, establishment of the social institutions of Islām, and with the presentation of Islām to non-Muslims.

In all these, the Hijrah was the criterion and seal of Islām. It was the practical, concrete, visible, spatiotemporal manifestation of Islāmicity. One could not be a Muslim in secret maintaining a relation between himself and Allah (SWT). Islām held that if the relationship is indeed with Allah (SWT), and it is what it ought to be, namely service, *i.e.*, worship and obedience to His commandments, then it must issue in the disturbance of space-time and reorientation of its flow to ends prescribed by the revelation. This disturbance and reorientation of space-time constitute the criterion and the "proof" of the relation to Allah. No other evidence can be adduced that the relation is what it ought to be, or that its other pole is indeed Allah (SWT), than the resultant action. The ontological relation between them is so close that Islām holds them to be equivalent. On the logical level, the vision remains prior to the consequent action. It is indeed the actional consequences of faith which distinguish between true religiosity and opium, between God-worship and Satan-worship, betwern Islām and non-Isām. Without action, therefore, there is no telling what deity, and what relation to it are the object of religious experience. After all, who beside the omniscient God can tell, in the absence of action, whether the person in question has any religious experience or is merely pretending and fooling ?

For all these reasons, Allah (SWT) in His infinite wisdom and mercy has joined *īmān* to *'amal* wherever *īmān* is mentioned in the Qur'ān. *Īmān*, or faith, the state of being convinced of the truth, is only a condition, a preparation for *'amal*. It is a necessary condition ; without it the action may and may not be moral, but it is certainly not religious, not an act of piety or worship. That is why, Allah (SWT) has made the very creation of heaven and earth, His own creation, subject to the end of man's doing the good deeds.[12] He (SWT) ruled out the opposite idea by asking the rhetorical question : "Or, does man think that he was created in vain ? That he was created to be surrendered to futility ?"[13] That is why Allah has emphasized the details of action expected from the Muslims in the personal as well as in the political, social, economic and military fields ;[14] and, to complete and clarify the commandments gave us the *Sunnah* ("example") of the Prophet as normative, as source and instance of the law.[15]

2. Islam and the State

The essence of religious experience in Islām requires action the disturbance of the flow of space-time for better ; *i.e.*, to the end of rekneading and recutting it in fulfilment of the divine pattern. Such action must begin with the subject, with his own person. Internally, such action is meant to achieve the state of loyalty and purity of devotion and faithfulness we call "*īmān*" or "*īkhlās*." This inner transformation is then expected to discipline the person, by means of regular *ṣalāt*, fasting, recitation of the Qur'ān, self-discipline by self-giving and sacrifice of one's energies, to transform one.'s personal life into one wholly in tune with Allah's imperatives, *i.e* , with the cause of Islām. Internal and personal transformation is indeed a preparation of the self to enter the space-time of non-self, of nature and other selves, therein to bring about actualization of Islām's imperative. Islāmic self-preparation is self-stretching, the making of oneself taut, ready for the arrow, for the battle, and for the fruits of victory. As we have already seen, it is valuable and for itself ; it is a *conditio sine qua non* of all moral action ; and it is far from exhausting the meaning of the Islāmic imperative.

Allah (SWT) has required action to be societal, collective action. He ordered that the Muslims do the good collectively, as an *ummah*. His command, "Let there be of you an *ummah* which calls for the good, enjoins the deeds of righteousness and forbids those of evil. For such are the felicitious,"[16] leaves no room for doubt that the imperative of Islām is to be executed by a collective of Muslims, organically bound together so as to constitute an *ummah*. The Qur'ān is fond of speaking of Muslims nearly always in the plural, attributing to them—once their *īmān* is secure or taken for granted—the tasks of "instituting the *ṣalāt*, collecting and distributing the *zakāt*, and doing the good deeds."[17] In other Qur'ānic verses, these tasks are predicated of Muslims after Allah had granted them power on earth, political-military power, a prerogative of the state exclusively.[18] Thus the state is inevitable for Islām. It is absolutely necessary for Muslims to fulfil their Islāmicity. The rituals of Islām need the organized collective to be executed: The *Jum'ah*, the *Ḥajj*, the *zakāt*, the *'Īds* require a collective endowed with organizing, moving power. The *zakāt*, most of the corpus of Islāmic law and social institutions, require a collective endowed with adequate coercive power over its members. On the other hand, the *ummah's* discharge of the duty of guardianship of world-order (*i.e.*, of defending the oppressed, of stopping injustice or redressing its balance where it has been violated by aggression and *ẓulm*), the collective requires a coercive power strong enough to deter the aggressors before they perpetrate their injustice. The coercive power of the *ummah* must also be adequate enough to undo that injustice by force of arms where necessary. Obviously, then, Islām requires the state, and cannot do without it. The state, as Muḥammmad Iqbal had said, is the expression of Islām's spirituality, the discharge of that spirituality, or rather, its necessary extension, in space-time. The most important aspect of tne Hijrah is its creation of the Islāmic state. The state was the Hijrah's purpose ; and the purpose of the Makkan preparation through revelation, preaching, conversion of men and women, and finally, the covenants of 'Aqabah. All this is implied in the Prophet's *ḥadīth* that "the Muslim who dies without having participated in at least one *bay'ah* ("covenant to institute a caliph in his caliphate"—the prime political act) had died a *jāhilī* ("non-Muslim") death."

But what is the state which is so crucial to the very faith of Islām? So central to Islāmic religious experience itself? What necessary characteristics of the state are responsible for this primordial importance which Islām attaches to its active membership? Certainly, it cannot be any state of Muslim rulers and subjects which is here meant. Nor any part of the political system that is commonplace in human experience. What is the essential difference between the Islāmic state and the other states which makes it so crucially important to the religious felicity of the Muslims?

a Universalism. The Islāmic state is bound neither to a land nor to a people. Enlandizement of the state, *i.e.*, its restriction to a defined piece of real estate, is neither necessary nor universal. It is the product of a specific European development in history. Although the roots of that development can be traced back to the period of the Reformation in the 16th century, yet its flowering and crystallization took place in the nineteenth. The development affected every area of human life, especially the arts, the social sciences, the political life, religion, the society's view of itself, of its own past, and of its role in history. It was dominated by romanticism the reaction against the rational universalism of the Enlightenment, which recalled to the European mind, the sad experience of the Middle Ages church dominated ideal of the universal world-oikumene. The peoples of Europe held the Roman Catholic Church responsible for the abuses of its universalist ideal, for the abuses of which Europe suffered for a millenium or more. Nationalization of the state, *i.e.*, its restriction to a race, to a *Gemeinshchaft* whose members share by nature a number of innate characteristics such as colour, cephalic index, blood, language and a common past, is equally a product of the same European romanticism reacting against the universal church as well as the Enlightenment and its stepdaughter, the French Revolution. Certainly, the Islāmic state must have land as well as people, and cannot exist without them. But its land and its people are only a beginning. The Islāmic state seeks the earth and, indeed, creation itself, the whole of it. Equally, the Islāmic state must seek mankind and bring every member of the human race to enjoy the privileges, and fulfil the obligation of membership in it. Without the will to envelop the world and a concrete program to bring every corner of space and every human being under its authority, under its peace and justice, the state loses its Islāmic justification. Without such a will, the Islāmic state incapacitates itself to be the *ummatan wasṭatan* Allah (SWT) has commissioned it to be, witnessing to the world and guarding it against immorality and injustice.[19]

The Islāmic state must also have people to belong to it. But people do not belong to it by virtue of their birth, their, skin, colour, their race or ethnic culture. They belong to it by virtue of a voluntary decision on their part. Under the constitution of the Islāmic state, every adult is free to exit with his dependents and to take away his possessions if it is his decision not to belong to the state. Nobody's citizenship is desired by the Islāmic state unless he or she subscribes to its ideology, believes in its *raison d'ētre* and objectives, and is prepared to do his share in carrying out its universal burden. *Islāmic citizenship therefore belongs to whomsoever decides to* make the Islāmic state his own. No ruler and no government has the right to refuse the applicant, unless his decision is proven faulty by an Islāmic court. The Islāmic state therefore is, unlike the nation-state, an open society, ready to accept anyone who decides to adopt it. Indeed, the Islāmic state is religiously bound to invite and appeal to all mankind to join it as citizens.

Ethnic characteristics held in common belong to nature. They are acknowledged by Islām and they put in the place proper to them. Islām does not seek to obliterate them, but to tolerate and encourage them as long as they do not counter Islāmic law and spirit. Islām recognizes marriage and the blood relation as the sole bases for the family. The Islāmic family is an extended one. Islāmic law has entitled them to inherit from, and obliged them to support one another, however distant they may be from one another. Since the law forbids the Muslims to dispose any more than a third of his wealth by a will, the consequence is that the members of each extended family are buttressed together. They would find the law easier to observe by living together and eating from the same kitchen, a communion which contributes heavily to the socialization and acculturation of their generations. Fellow inhabitants of the same locality are more apt to know, to sympathize and cooperate with one another. This fact is the basis for the dictum, "Charity begins at home," which all religions share and which Islām confirms with the juristic principle : "The nearer are more entitled to receive the good deed."

Patriotism is the love, the loyalty, the charity and closeness one feels for one's fellows, for one's near and distant relatives, for those who share the same endowments of nature and history. Common living is the ground of common experience, of similarity and consensus No doubt it is a positive good, a blessing or *ni'mah* which Allah (SWT) has associated with human life on earth. Islām is not only not against it ; it commands it. Defence of the life and property of one's neighbour and his dependents when that neighbour is absent or incapable, is a duty imposed by Islāmic law. As appreciation, preparation and defence of the fatherland when it is the object of aggression or injustice, patriotism is an Islāmic duty. But patriotism is not nationalism. Nationalism dictates that the "locality", the "tribe" or the "community" in question is the ultimate political formation, which patriotism does not. Nationalism implies that the welfare of the locality be the ultimate criterion of goodness for political, social or economic conduct. That is not accidental to it, but follows from its outlook necessarily.

In fact, nationalism is not at all itself unless the principle is accepted that the national welfare is the measure and standard of all welfare, of the good itself. It is this criterion which distinguishes it from patriotism. Indeed, the principle defines it. Unlike nationalism, therefore, patriotism does not mean that its terms constitute the sole *definiens* of citizenship, of culture and humanity. In all its exercise, patriotism is subject to the welfare of the world-state, the universal interest of the *sharīah* or moral law, and to the divine will to which any definition of man, of his life and destiny must refer. Indeed nationalism corrupts patriotism by absolutizing it and removing all checks in its way. The nationalist pursuit of patriotism is ethically vitiated by its being free of moral restraint. Rather than being non-patriotic, the committed Muslim is the best patriot there can be because his patriotism flows from his religious and ethical conscience, and is best protected from aberration by conscience. The nationalist's patriotism, on the other hand is a blind drive whose very excess brings it sooner or later to tragedy

The Islāmic world-state, we may conclude, does not destroy and supplant the ethnic entity; nor does loyalty to the former necessarily conflict with that of the latter. Islām brings the interests of the world-state as an addition to those of the ethnic unit, as an ennobling, ethicalizing addition. Whenever this addition conflicts with the welfare of the relative, the kin, the compatriot, it is the higher law of God, of the Islāmic state and world *ummah* that must be actualized. It is the ultimate harmonizer and referee in case of conflict. Obviously Islām wishes ethnic loyalty to be exercised with discipline that is what lifts it from the status of a herd-instinct to that of a moral act. Had Islām meant to destroy ethnicity, the various ethnicities of Muslims would have battled against Islām and would have been largely destroyed. But they are still prospering, as witnesses the history of Islām outside the Arab world, in Persia, Turkey, India, sub-Saharan Africa, Central Asia, and the Malay archipelago. On the other hand, ethnicity is never allowed to determine the state, its policies, or its administration of the law.

Universalism is the most salient and visible characteristic of the Islāmic state. It constitutes the embodiment of the Qur'ānic principles of the creation, nature and destiny of man.[20] Not one of the Muslim states in existence, unfortunately, comes anywhere close to fulfilling this basic characteristics of the Islamic state, this essential imperative of Islām itself. Indeed, everyone of them has enacted a law of citizenship and naturalization which is the work of the devil *per se*. One and all, they have adopted the European laws, and even made them stricter than anything racist Europe have invented. Those Muslim countries with the least contact with Europe, and those which have tasted the evil of European racism, have been caught by the disease ; but the microbe, after transfer to them has become far more virulent and destructive. Those with an oil income are enforcing the most absurd laws of citizenship ever known to man. Their governments are absolutely devoid of shame in this regard. Israel, their enemy, though it is bursting at the seams with more population than it can support, grants its citizenship unquestionably to every Jew on earth who applies for it. Indeed, it declares itself responsible for him, his protector and guardian against the world. The Muslim states, *per contra*, practice such particularism that even those foreign Muslims who have lived in and worked for them for generations continue to be treated as aliens on a par with, or even inferior to, the non-Muslims.

b. Sovereignty. National sovereignty, *i.e.*, the absolute power of the collective to determine and enforce its own interest and to apply it as ultimate criterion of its conduct towards them as well as towards other states, is another growth of European history. It developed against the Church's arrogation of that power to itself, or against the monarch's concentration of that power in the throne, or against both. In European history, the Church was not a theory, an abstract body of principles and criteria, but a real body of people constituting the most powerful political and economic oligarchy. Instead of aristocrats basing their title on descendence or royal decree, the humans constituting and wielding the power were priests. The Church (*i.e.*, the Pope and his council of cardinals) wielded the greater power to define the truth, to expand, add to or change Christianity. *A fortiori* it enjoyed the power to determine the life and property of the citizens and the state. In fact, the dominion of the Church was the dominion of humans, namely the priests. Dominion also belonged to the king, to his relatives and friends. The king and his court, the aristocrats each in his own country or fiefdom, and the Church nearly everywhere, determined the life, prosperity and activity of the people. Dominion was the personal prerogative of the holder which he exercised to the limit of the people's forbearance. As is commonly known, the Church, the monarch and their subordinates abused their privilege to rule. Feeling themselves oppressed, the people struggled to remove that yoke. Their rebellion was to wrest political as well as economic control from the hand of the monarch and his aristocracy; or from the Church and its priesthoods or from both. The problem was not one of the ends or methods of control, but of its subjects and objects. The people—*i.e.*, the objects—wanted themselves to be the subjects, rather than the aristocracy, monarch or priesthood, that determine. They had suffered so much harassment and restriction that they finally exploded into a series of rebellions which historians came to call the "liberal revolution." This struggle of the commonalty of the people to get rid of their oppressors and replace them with themselves led to the establishment of national sovereignty or the priority of the people of that nation to determine their lives and affairs in terms of what they regarded collectively as their own national interest. In all the political struggles which ensued, the presidential form of government, the constitutional monarchy, the parliamentary cabinet, the federal or centralized state structure were so many different answers to the question of who wields the power of the state.

As to what ought to determine the determinants of the good of citizens or state—be the aristocrats or commoners, clergy or laymen—the question was regarded as personal, relative, concerning only the specific person in his personal capacity. Such a question was deemed beyond contention. Like taste, it was relative. Just as it was said of taste that *de qustibus non est disputandem* there was to be no contention regarding the ends of human life. These can be whatever each person decides for himself. Philosophy had already taught Europe that axiology, ethics and morality are not realms of exact science, but of personal experience. Their claims, people had become convinced, were capable of proof; and argument concerning them had for purpose persuasion, not demonstration. Such questions, therefore, had better be left to each person to determine according to his conscience. Nobody has the right to use the state power to promote any moral or religious value. If the exercise of state power required a certain religious or moral orientation, the only way that requirement can be met is through the voting power of the electorate. Since the commonalty of the people is henceforth to rule, the people's religio-moral orientation cannot be established except by the majority of their representatives. The votegetters, if they are the majority, are the expression of the collective experience of the people. As such, they have the right to enforce their judgement upon the collective as a whole. The only relevant question is whether or not it is what the largest number of people desire—a matter which is adequately determined either by popular referendum or the single majority of the people's representatives.

In Islām, sovereignty belongs to Allah. He alone has the right or power to determine the human good and that of all *creation, because all creation is His. He alone is its Creator*, Lord and Master. To be a Muslim is nothing if it is not to acknowledge this first principle of *tawḥīd*. The Islāmic state, therefore, as a collective of humans, stands under the divine authority. In fact, the state exists to the end of enabling the citizens, personally and collectively, to fulfil the divine imperatives. There can, therefore, never be a separation of the state from that function of obedience to the divine commandments. This does not make the Islāmic state a theocracy, *i.e.*, a state where God rules through a vicar or lieutenant, and where He is both the Legislator and the Executive. In Islām, God does not take the place of the ruler. He is the law-Giver, the constitution-Maker, the Source of all norms and imperatives which are already given in the Qur'ān for all eternity and space. Being already given, the law is to be applied or executed, not made or promulgated. Certainly the law always stands in need of interpretation ; its realm of application in need of expansion. But this is the task of the jurist who in Islām is, autonomous person responsible to God, and whose profession—jurisprudence—is a critical discipline, open to anyone with the requisite competence.

The ruler, or caliph, of the Islāmic state is an executive appointed by his peers to lead them in an executive operation, the implementation of the already given divine law. This reduced position of the head of state in Islām derives from the definition and function of man. All humans were created to the same end, *viz.*, to implement the divine imperatives, not to make these imperatives or to set up their own norms. Moreover, in order to make man's task easier, God gave us the law—*al-Furqān*—in a revealed text whose authenticity is beyond question. He has appointed man as His *khalīfah* to be the executive responsible for directing life toward fulfilment of the divine imperatives. He further assisted man in the task of obedience by guiding the Prophet's deeds so that his *Sunnah* may properly be the normative example of fulfilment of the divine will. Both the revelation (the Qur'ān) and the *Sunnah* have been translated into the *sharī'ah*, the prescriptive, concrete law. Together with man's reason which is capable of discovering God's patterns in nature, of man's social and economic welfare, of interpreting the revelation and the *Sunnah* so as to accommodate his ever-changing needs—in short, together with man's ethical intuition (*al-dhawq al-shar'ī*) with which it is possible for him to discern the purposes of the *sharī'ah*, the Qur'ān, the *Sunnah* and the law are all that humans need to fulfil the divine imperative and achieve *falaḥ* or felicity in this world and the hereafter.

Sovereignty, therefore, does not belong to the collective, nor to any individual or group of citizens, nor to all of them at once. It belongs to the law which sits in judgment of all that happens within the state and outside of it, and behind the law, to its divine Author. The Islāmic state is indeed a nomocracy (*nomos*—law) where the state itself as well as its constituents stand under the law. This law, which only partially resembles the constitution of a European state is not subject to amendment following the will of the citizens, for it does not derive from them. They are not its enactors. Allah (SWT) has promulgated it by revelation. It is therefore eternal. What can change is only the human understanding of its meanings, an understanding which grows with knowledge and experience. It will always be pertinent to ask whether the empirical conditions requisite for its application are present in the given instance which the law is invoked ; but that does not touch the nature of the law which is immutable. However, in interpreting revelation, the *Sunnah,* or the laws derived from them, the human understanding was not left to its own resources. Guidelines have been laid down by the revelation itself, to protect the understanding against arbitrariness or whimsey. By affirming the Qur'ān, the first source and ultimate criterion of the law, to be a *verbatim* revelation from God, Islām has frozen the Qur'ānic text and its language for ever. Thereby, it shielded them against the ravages of history and guarded them against change. Far more important, the said measure made linguistic interpretation the only possible hermeneutics. Unlike theological or contentual hermeneutics, linguistic hermeneutics makes exegesis an empirical discipline, absolutely certain of its results, once a complete dictionary is established for the language. In the case of Arabic, this was completed in the first century following the revelation when the language of the Qur'ān was constantly in use; and pre-Islāmic poetry, proverbs, common sayings as well as Islāmic poetry, narratives, epistles and oratory from the times of the Prophet were the daily concerns of all Muslims. On the other hand, interpretation of the law is subject to an equally critical discipline, namely, *'ilm uṣūl al fiqh,* or Islāmic jurisprudence, where the *ḥujjiyyah* or validity of a law is the object of strict proof. Islāmic jurisprudence has established *ijtihad, qiyās* (*i.e.*, direct or indirect deduction) and *maṣlaḥah* (or the public welfare) as legitimate sources of law. Content and method being both open and capable of critical examination, Islām invited everyone of its adherents to do his homework of study, to re-interpret so as to achieve fuller equity and justice, and to contend the constitutionality or legitimacy of any law or decree without cost. Nay more! It declared contention of the legitimacy of a law in the Islāmic court possible to the non-Muslim citizen as well as the non-citizen, and promised two units of merit and reward to the person who establishes his contention and one unit to him who tries and errs!

c. Freedom. It is of the essence of Islamic religious experience to realize that one is a servant of God. This flows from the meaning of creatureliness which man shares with all other creatures. Humans exist to fulfil a purpose of the Creator. In the other creatures, however, the divine purpose is realized necessarily because it has been worked into their being, vested in them at birth. It is always fulfilling itself in them with the necessity of natural law. None of them can do but what it is supposed to do, what it is its nature to do. Only man can do otherwise than fulfil the divine purpose. Only he is free. But this freedom itself to obey or disobey the divine imperative is itself equally of God's design and purpose. When free man obeys the commandment voluntarily, consciously, while it is possible for him to violate it, another value than what is imbedded in the command is actualized. That is the moral value. Without his freedom, this possibility to do, not to do, or to do the opposite, the deed may have a utilitarian value, but not the moral. Its ethical dimension is a function of the inner disposition of the subject enter into action and perorm the deed for moral reason, *i.e.*, for the service of God and out of love for Him, then the need is a morally worthy act regardless of its utilitarian value. Where the inner disposition of the subject is the opposite or neutral, the deed acquires an immoral or merely utilitarian character, respectively.

Being the more conditioned, the moral values are higher part of the divine will. It is for their sake that God created man. According to the Qur'ān, the angels who cannot do any thing but what God commands them to do, could not understand why God was taking the risk of creating a creature—man—that can violate God's commandents.[21] The same divine Source has informed us that heaven and earth, mountains and rivers have rejected the divine trust which was offered to them because they could not carry out or fulfil it,[22] but that man accepted and made it his burden.[23] This trust is indeed moral. For only the moral deed distinguishes man from the other creatures of nature. Without man, the divine purpose of creation would not be complete. Nature, *i.e.* all that fulfils the divine purpose necessarily, and has on that account merely utilitarian value, exists that a moral creature may utilize it as means in his actualization of the moral, or higher, part of the divine purpose. This makes man really the crown of creation, for whom everything was made subservient by the Creator.[24]

The foregoing considerations make human freedom the most precious endowment of man by God. It is the *conditio sine qua non* of his service to God To regiment him, to coerce him, to "corner" him in situations where he has but one course of action, is to divest him of his divine endowment, to rob him of the possibility to be moral, *i.e.*, to serve God for God's sake. Evidently there can be no greater crime in the eye of God—or man, the victim. The Qur'ānic dictum "*lā ikrāha fī al dīn*"[25] ("no coercion in *al-dīn*") does not only refer to matters of faith or belief, but to all human activity. The word "*dīn*" certainly means faith or religion ; but in Islām, there can be no distinction between religious and secular because life is an undivided unity. Everything is "religious," *i.e.*, endowed with a divine purpose. *Dīn*, therefore, applies to everything ; and the command, *la ikraha fi al dīn*, means no coercion in any aspect of life, in any human deed. Animals, plants, mountains and rivers may be "coerced" into courses of being or development which they would not of themselves follow. For they do not have freedom. To coerce them into fulfilling our desire is the very meaning of their *taskhīr* by God to us. Not so man ! To reduce his freedom in any measure is to aggress upon his divine prerogative. Certainly, one may lagislate that all traffic lights must be obeyed and the police are entitled to coerce men into such obedience. But where men obey the traffic lights because of police coercion, they act like animals being channeled to a certain course of movement. On the other hand, where they do obey voluntarily out of the consideration that they desire the safety of their fellow humans which can be attained through such conformance with traffic signal, then their obedience has besides the utilitarian, a moral character and merit.

On this test of freedom, all Muslim states, fail miserably. One and all are police states, tottering on the brink of revolution.[26] The greater part of their rulers' energies are spent on safeguarding the security of their chairs against their own peoples. Their immoral disposition, namely, to rule in their own personal interest rather than to actualize the divine pattern in the world, has blinded them to the real and final guarantee and source of their own security, as well as of their regimes, namely, conformance with the aspiration of their people which is none other than the purpose of Islām. Taking advantage of their blindness, the enemies of Islām plot in order to keep the alienation of the people from their rulers permanent. They indeed encourage the rulers to violate all the human rights of their subjects precisely in order to serve that end. For, when the ruler is weak, opposed by his own people and anxious for his own security, there is for him but one option—to ask for and depend upon the foreigner to assist him. The enemy could then effectively bring the ruler and the ruled under his mercy, exploit them and their resources as he pleases, and perpetuate his mastery over them.

Unfortunately, no Muslim state leadership has yet arisen to perceive this basic political truth that the political security of any regime can never be maintained outside of harmony of purpose between government and people. The people—the overwhelming majority of them—are committed to Islām, to its values and ideals. Nothing can shake their conviction. They are proud of it and regard it as the essence of their identity. Disharmony with the norms and ideals of Islām inevitably brings opposition and contention which in turn bring suppression by the government. But suppression leads to further opposition, and the latter, in dialectical reaction, to still more suppression. As harmony and freedom are necessary corollaries of each other, disharmony and oppression always go hand-in-hand. Once the government leadership deviates from the path of fulfilment of the aspirations of the people, a chain reaction is incepted which leads to the denial of freedom to the people. Such a situation can never remain static. The people become rebellious, the rulers ever more oppresive, until they have spent their energies or destroyed each other, to the delight and advantage of the enemy. The dignity which Allah (ṢWT) has conferred upon the ruler and the people is violated, and the Islāmic state is ruined.

d. Comprehensiveness. The Islāmic state which the Prophet (SAAS) had founded in Madīnah was an ideological state. It had a cause, namely, the vision of Islām, which it regarded as the reason and end of its very being. This vision was the fulfilment of the divine will which is the source and sum of all values. Consequently, this greatest of causes had to affect every aspect of the citizen's life, the personal as well as the social, the private as well as the public. Islam prescribed a purpose for everything, an objective to every human activity. Nothing escaped and everything was relevant. It also prescribed a methodology for everything, and this amounted to a style of doing and living for its adherents, for its institutions as well as for the state itself. Once founded on the first day of the Hijrah, this style became the prime object of divine revelation. That is why most of the Quran revealed in Madiah, as well as the *Sunnah* conducted in Madinah, were concerned with the law, with the how of the fulfilment of the islamic vision. The former laid down the values or objectives of every activity, and the latter illustrated its pursuit and instantiated its fulfilment.

In consequence, the jurisdiction of the Islamic state was ever-increasing. The questions the covenant of Madinah dealt with were only the beginning, the most pressing and fundamental matters of security and loyalty. Naturally, they do not cover all the areas of jurisdiction of the Islamic state The revelalion legislated for ever-new areas, and the Islamic state expanded to cover new grouds and activities. This development follows with logical necessity from the fact the purpose of the whole enterprise of Islam is fulfilment of the divine imperative. The will or command of God is relevant to everything, by definition. There is nothing to which the ultimate good or value does not stand in a relation of approval, and disapproval of desirability and undesirability with all the degrees of intensity possible within them. Just as the Islamic state must expand itself to cover creation, it must develop its jurisdiction so as to cover every possible human activity. Unlike the Western state which approaches the ideal of liberal political thought by governing less and less, the Islamic state must govern more and more. In the former case government is looked upon as a necessary evil, a kind of covenant of "*contract social*" in which hte citizens enter in order to protect themselves from one another. The underlying premise is that human nature if fallen and hence necessarily bent upon aggression and evil. Satifaction of the need for protection with less government is therefore viewed as the ideal. From this perspective, the nature of government is that of prevention and regulation, basically a police function, whether aimed at the internal, or external side of the state.

It is radically otherwise with the Islāmic state, which fulfils the police function aforementioned but only as preparation for a higher positive function. The state is entrusted with the responsibility to make the word of God supreme,[27] *i.e.*, to fulfil the divine will by a covenant or *bay'ah* between it and the citizens, whose witness and guarantor is God. Fulfilment of the divine will requires the state to intervene in every activity in order to make it actualize the divine imperative if it does not do so as a matter of course. State intervention, however, is not a bid for power, nor is it an exercise entered into for its own sake. Obviously, it would stand under the most severe condemnation if it ever entertained any purpose other than what God has prescribed. It must always be an intervention for the good, or for better if such is possible. That is why Islāmic law was developed to cover all activities, thus bringing them all under the purview of state intervention. That is why the Islāmic institution of the *Ḥisbah* was established in order to cover those areas of human activity where the arm of the state usually does not reach. After specifying all the activities and problems in which the state and the *Hisbah* are empowered and expected to control, Islāmic law adds in typical Islāmic comprehensiveness, "the command of the good and prohibition of evil."

The comprehensiveness of state jurisdiction in Islam may not be interpreted as an appeal to widen and increase the state bureaucracy indefinitely. The connection between the two is not necessary, though it is frequently the case that increase in the one means increase in the other. Two principles militate against the expanding bureaucracy: First, every citizen in the Islāmic state is charged with the same burden of commanding the good and prohibiting evil. Every citizen must, therefore, to the extent of his ability, relieve the state of its burden by his interference in the life of his peers. True, his intervention carries no sanction and is purely moral in authority. Often, however, that is precisely what is needed for compliance with Islāmic law, especially where the area is that of personal relations. Second, the first task of every individual as well as the state is education of all Muslims in Islām. The more this task is carried out, the more the citizens of the Islāmic state will do the good prescribed by Islām, and the less interference in the lives of its citizens to achieve the good will be necessary. That interference will decrease proportionally to the citizens' acquisition and internalization of the law by means of education.

3. Planning for the Islamic State

(*a*) *Genesis through Agreement*. The Muslim World is full of political entities called states, all of which are members of the United Nations Organization. In their present form, none of them is an Islāmic state for two crucial reasons : The first is that they have come into being through a violent *coup d'ētat*, or through agreement between the wrong parties. None of them has come into being by the free and deliberate agreement of the citizens. The second reason is that in none of them is the word of God or His law supreme, *i.e.*, the efficacious determinant of activity and life.

All but a handful or less of the states of the Muslim World have made a bloody and violent entry into the world which history cannot forget. The Islāmic state cannot come about in a *coup d'ētat* because that is the opposite of agreement. By definition, a *coup d'ētat* coerces the opponents into accepting the result or face overpowering violence. The acquiescence of such people is not what Islām seeks, whatever the circumstances in which it is given. Freedom, as we said earlier in this essay, is an absolute condition of morality. Without it, no deed is moral however good it may be and whatever benefit it may bring to its subject or object.

In actual practice, the Muslim World has seen states and regimes rise and fall suddenly by overthrowing the old and forcing the people into accepting the new. In every case, this evil beginning vitiated the state's whole life. Not one has been able to let the *sharīʻah* rule ; not one of them has been able to fulfil the divine imperative; and in none of them is the word of God—His will or the values constituting it—supreme. The failure of these states is not limited to Islāmic areas, but has infested all other areas of endeavour. Most of them are Western inspired and pursue Westernization with great pace. The results have always been disappointing whether in the education, economic, military or political fields. The reason is that these states are devoid of moral cause; their very birth being proof of their lack of moral integrity.

The first Islāmic state in Madīnah, *per contra*, came into being through the agreements of 'Aqabah by which the Aws and the Khazraj tribes bound themselves to practice Islām and honour its system of ethics and law, and the agreement of the same tribes, their neighbours and clients to the Covenant of Madīnah. No one was coerced and all the parties entered into the agreement of their own accord. Had one tribe not agreed, the Prophet (ṢAAS) would have drawn the conclusion, not that a *coup d'ētat* was necessary, but that more education was needed to convince the opponents of the value of the Islāmic state. Likewise, in our day, what is needed is for the Muslims to become convinced of the desirability and necessity of the Islāmic state. This cannot be accomplished by force, violence or coercion, but like all things ethical and lasting, by convincing through sound argument and good example.

(b) Building the State through Education. By "education," we do not mean the Western secular systems in Muslim states, which are instituted and managed by the governments of the land. Nor do we mean either the system of private schools and colleges which are nationally owned and operated by nationals of the state or foreign agencies, whether private or public, Islāmic or Christian. The Islāmic state we hope for is not born out of either system of education. Fortunately, these are not all the educational resources available to the *ummah*. The *ummah* possesses an educational resource far more effective, and far more readily available than the facilities offered by either system. That is the free and popular education of the masses,

which the Western institution of "continuing education" approximates, but from which it differs because the latter is not free. Elder Muslims may receive it after their college years, and younger Muslims may receive it during their free time, whether in seasonal vacations or every day after their college or school hours. It functions mainly in the mosques; and it may make use of community centers, or school buildings during their empty hours or days, or other meeting places available to the community. Its base is the teacher, neither the classroom and textbook, nor the institution which organizes these into a school. It covers all subjects, but only as they are touched by Islam, its vision and law. It leads to no degrees and issues no diplomas, but it expects action and watches for concrete results. It gives more than any conventional education. Indeed, it is truly "acculturation" and "socialization." Compared with it, school education is extremely limited in scope, and its effect is equally restricted. To distinguish it from ordinary academic education, we shall give it the name of *tabyīn*, derived from the verb *bayyana* ("to make clearly understood") used in the Qur'ān in connection with enlightening the people with the divine truths. *Tabyīn* is the commandment of God to all (Qur'ān 2 : 160), the special charge of the prophets (14 : 4) and the paramount objective of revelation (2 : 118, 187, 219, 221, 242, 266 ; 3 : 118 ; 4 : 25, 175, etc.).

Tabyīn is a personal duty (*fard 'ayn*) which God imposed upon all humans. When man is young, *tabyīn* is what his parents or elders owe him, personally. It is their duty to teach him, *i.e.*, to make clearly understood or known, the rituals of Islam and those aspects of its law which are necessary for fulfilment of his Islāmic duties. But if the parents are conscientious, *tabyīn* can and should teach the young much more. It teach him the values of Islām and its ethic ; and it can train and discipline him into the Islāmic style of life. It can equally build up the archetypal percepts or ideals toward which he ought to guide his life and endeavour Surely, it can teach him loyalty to God, to Islasm.—His religion and to the *ummah*.

Every great movement, every one that met success in history had a youth movement through which it took care to endoctrinate youth with its ideals and to discipline them into its code of ethics and mores. Islam has always paid attention to its youth, except in this day and age when out of laziness or sheer irresponsibility, Muslims have entrusted them to the school system or to chance, having resigned their own duty toward them. The Islāmic Youth Movement must play a crucial role in the acculturation of Muslims. In addition to all the "Scout" activities usually engaged in by the youth, the Movement ought to have programs of training which reach the youth and prepare them for Islāmic work and a career of service to Islām. The cause of Islam should be as much in the book he reads, the special movie he watches, the athletic or excursion event in which he participates, or the friendly conversation he holds with his peers. All these would be programmed to enligten him in Islām, to develop in him a sense of Islāmic identity, to cause him to grow into a man with cause.

It is when man has grown to adulthood that the work of *tabyīn* becomes more effective. Then, his elders play a lesser role as compared with his peers. It is his peers that give him the culture of the age and generation, of the country and region and it is they who socialize him into full and adjusted membership in their society. The fact that *tabyīn's* major work lies with the adult of the *ummah*, betrays the Islāmic principle that the work of education is never done, following the *ḥadīth* "seek knowledge from cradle to grave." It is the adult population that will bring about the Islāmic state if it is to come at all ; and it is they who will support and maintain it. The Islāmic state, its problems and prospects, its meaning and promise, should be the end of *tabyīn's* programs. In this way, the adults are given a noble ideal to work for beyond the commonplace objectives of food, shelter, children and comfort. *Tabyin's* programs are to be designed to lift Muslims out of the banality of everyday life and infuse their lives with enthusiasm for a great ideal. *Tabyīn* should help them to organize their cooperaiive effort into one mighty stream which would envelope the whole of society and thus obviate the need for any coercion, or for any *coup d'ētat*.

The nature of the work of *tabyīn* is three fold:

(1) Educating the Mind. First is that which justifies the name; *i.e.*, enlighntenment in Islām or clarification of the Islāmic vision, apprehension of Islāmic value in short, Islāmization. As instruction, *tabyīn* proceeds from peer to peer and is hence a cooperative venture, not without a leader to guide it through problems or difficulties. Although the group, or *usrah*, begins with one person, it should grow gradually the new being enlightened by the old, until it reaches a logistic maximum. Its best meeting room should be the home of a member on rotary basis because of the intimate atmosphere and hospitality the home offers, though it can meet wherever the members please. Obviously, it can also meet as a *halaqah* ("circle") around a pillar, or in a *zāwiyah* ("corner") of the neighbourhood mosque. The goal of *tabyīn* is to convince the members that the Islamic position is true, that the Islāmic option is the best, and that it can be achieved only through their personal involvement and endeavour. *Tabyīn* must also develop in the class members loyalty to the Islam option and desire to appropriate and actualize it in their own lives. To this end it must be a laboratory presenting to consciousness tableaux of value-realization enabling the members to apprehend the value of Islām. Equally, *tabyīn* should relate the Islāmic vision to the actual realities in which the members live and show what Islām demands of them to do in the given situations.

The form in which *tabyīn* fulfils its work is discussion. Led by the group guide, the member discuss the topic among themselves, and cooperatively seek to throw light on its various facets until they are all certain and convinced of the pertinent facts and the desirable norms applicable to those facts. Discussion is assisted by the reading of a passage from the Holy Qur'ān, and the input of the guide and of the more knowledgeable among the members. *The topic must always be life in all* its variety : What it is, what it ought to be, and how may the ought-to-be be realized in the members' immediate space and time.

(2) **Reforming the Heart.** The second part of the work of *tabyīn* is to enable the participating members to apprehend Islāmic values in experience. Apprehension of values by the mind is the work of the understanding assisted by theoretical reason with its discursive faculties. By itself, it produces no commitment, no loyalty and no virtue, though it teaches the participant the nature, structure, implications and effects of all these. The heart *i.e.*, the emotional faculty which intuits values has not been involved except in so far as the value of the enterprise as a whole is concerned. The aim of the second part is to enable the heart *to enter the process and there to apprehend* the values instantiated. Evidently this part of *tabyin* calls for real situations of life to be used as contexts for learning. That is teaching by example, rather than by concept.

The intuition of the heart is emotional. The value thus apprehended is not merely processed by the understanding. It affects the heart and determines it, creating in it the emotion of approval, of desire, of quiescence for Islāmic values, and of the opposite attitudes for disvalues. For the heart to apprehend is *ipso facto* to be determined by what it had apprehended ; and hence, to acquire loyalty and desire for the value apprehended, aversion from its opposite. Reforming the heart, or training for virtue, means nothing less than such apprehension of values in their real instance, in experience. The value in the real instance emits a moving appeal, a real-determining power, which when apprehended, does bring about a change. It is itself an energizing, moving reality, quickening every heart with which it enters into contact. This is the effect of its being alive, not dead like the data of geology or mathematics. In its presence perceiving humans lose their inertia or equilibrium, and tend toward the values instanced in the given realities.

Tabyīn's task is to reform the hearts of Muslims enrolled in its programs. To this end, it presents them with situations concretizing the values to be taught. By exciting their imagination, the program seeks to sensitize them to apprehend the values of Islām. For only by developing such loyalty to the Islamic state, to the values inherent in Islām's social order, will Muslims act to bring it about.

The group guide or leader will play a major role in achieving this second goal of *tabyīn*. His life and conduct must be exemplary, *i.e.*, fully concretizing the relevant values of Islām. The Muslim's perception of the example issues in his apprehension of the values inherent in it. Virtue and commitment develop in consequence of such apprehension. The able guide will make equal use of the lives and histories of other members of the group. For their meeting would be a sharing of one another's experience. Analysis and discussion of those life experiences would disclose the values inherent therein; and these would exercise their energizing action upon the members.

The process of heart reform will be greatly aided by the groups doing some activities together, such as engagement in community welfare projects and services, travel to other Muslim communities and places, and acting in community organized task forces for special objectives. Real life is full of situations in which moral values are instantiated. It presents a rich mine of axiological materials to the learner. The latter's emotional-intuitive faculty must experience and suffer determination by their moving appeal and energy if he is to become Islāmically successful. Public welfare service presents countless occasions for the observers to get involved and actualize the values missing from the situations they are observing.

(3) **Organizing the Arms (al-Arkan.)** Minds enlightened and full of vision, and hearts reformed and charged with commitment cannot guarantee the establishment of the Islāmic state unless the arms (*al-arkān*) or bodies carrying them are organized to act in concert with one another and disciplined

always to act in the best interest of Islām, the *ummah* and the state. Muslims have usually insisted on the first two measures thinking that organization would follow automatically once the mind and heart are converted to the cause. The truth is otherwise. If experience is any indication, far too many Islāmic movements have failed in modern times because of their lack of organization, a fact which points to the low order of rank that Muslims assign to organizational needs. This very truth is the first lesson the Muslim worker everywhere ought to learn.

Social organization consists of two things : the ordering of human relations in such a way that information and judgment move rapidly and without distortion from leadership to rank and file and *vice versa* ; and the preparation of human energy for application as the leadership may direct. The opposite of the first is social arteriosclerosis, namely the situation where the avenues of communication within the leadership, and between it and the various institutions and echelons of the *ummah* are clogged and impede the smooth and quick flow of communication in both directions. Ignorance and incompetence, insubordination or flouting, non-commitment and unconcern, any of these or similar deficiencies can clog the channels and ruin the momentum of life and activity of the *ummah*. On the other hand, the non-readiness of officials and/or people to apply their energies where the leadership directs always point to failure of education (acculturation and socialization) of the members. Such failure to do what is expected of them at any stage in the course of life has a deadening effect on the life of the *ummah*. It is not possible for the *ummah* to succeed in its endeavour, whether internally or externally, unless the majority of its members are prepared to do what their leaders command.

From the very nature of the case, Islāmic organization cannot be secret. Islām itself has no secrets. Everything is both rational and clear, and hence public and critical. It is possible and legitimate for anyone to contend, and the Muslim is always required to give a convincing answer with gentleness and decorum, and a cool presence of mind. Muslims ought to organize themselves into *usar* (s. *usrah*, or "family"), each consisting of a dozen or so families or adult persons. Every *usrah* ought to have an *imām*, a guide or leader, who is constantly in communication with other *usar* through a higher *usrah* in which these leaders are members The *usrah* should eventually multiply itself into a dozen units when its training has become complete and each member can train, and act as *imām* for, another *usrah* of new members. The training program for each *usrah* must be tailored to its needs, the Islāmic rituals, the Qur'ān and the *sharī'ah*, Islamic culture and history being the common denominators. But each *usrah* may partake of the riches of Islāmic learning and culture as much as its individual members can digest and carry. In order to establish the requisite channels of communication as well as to fulfill the duty of aid on all fronts of life which the more knowledgeable and experienced bear towards the less so, every senior *usrah* ought to present to the *imām* of the junior *usrāh*, weekly or more frequently if needed, fresh suggestions for readings and discussions. A page from the Holy Qur'ān must be first reading for every *usrāh* meeting, complemented by selections from the *ḥādīth, uṣūl, fiqh,* history and *ādāb* literature. The senior *usrāh* ought to hear from the junior *usrāh* their point of view, their criticism and their contribution, again on weekly basis. The movement of communication between the various *usār* through their *imāms* constitutes a genuine chain of command, which would be of inestimable value should the system of *usār* wish to act *en bloc*, as the *ummāh* should.

The foregoing organization of *usār* and their leadership would be empty and futile unless the individual Muslim at the bottom of the hierarchy is prepared to listen and to obey, to apply his energies where they should be applied. Evidently, the individual Muslim must be the object and goal of the whole process of *tābyīn*. He must be trained to put the Islāmic cause above his own personal, group or regional welfare.

All the means possible should be used by *tābyīn* to the end of producing in him genuine commitment to that cause. This willingness on his part to implement the ethics and law of Islām in his own life and in that of his dependents, to spend of his substance for the cause, to apply his energies to abhieve and safeguard the interest of Islām and the *ummāh*, to promote the cause among friends and kin and ultimately, to lay down his life for it when necessary, is the goal of all education, of all religion, and of Islāmic *tabyīn* and *da'wah*. *Da'wah* to Muslims can aim at no more and is satisfied with no less. It is a transformation of soul and consciousness that is here in question, which constitute genuine *hidayat*. Certainly it is Allah (SWT) Who guides to *huda*; but He guides permanently and to the highest degree of felicity, only those whom personal effort had brought to this point of preparedness. "Allah grants victory to those who aid His cause" (Qur'ān 22 : 40; 47 : 7).

4. The Islamic State and you.

(*a*) *Muslim Failure.* Muslims have longed for the Islamic state ever since they lost their independence and were invaded by the colonial powers. In some regions, such as the Philippines the struggle against the colonial invaders was bloody, and still continues after more than 400 years. Wherever they achieved victory over their foreign enemies, the Muslims' neglect of planning for post victory, robbed them of the fruits of their struggle. The love of God and devotion to, His cause—Islām—inspired them to seek the *shahadah*, the ultimate sacrifice. They did lay down their lives with joy; and their spouses and relatives met their corpses with *zagharīd* or cries of happiness. They were grateful that Allah (SWT) had finally crowned the lives of their beloved with martyrdom. Their sacrifice, however, was made futile by the neglect of the living to plan for the Islāmic state. In every case, the colonial enemy left behind a configuration of secular, nationalist and even non-Muslim forces which seized power and oriented the state to servile fulfilment of neo-colonialist objectives. To divert Muslims from their Islāmic objective, the enemy implanted into every Muslim state a non-Muslim minority, or a group of a different ethnic identity and commissioned its leadership to create perpetual friction and subversion within. Blindly the Muslims occupied themselves with this internal "fifth column" and forgot the greater problem of their Muslim brethren outside their own frontiers. The enemy achieved this sinister objective by rearranging the frontiers of the national state, or by immigration. The Greeks in Cyprus and the Nile valley, the Chinese in Southeast Asia, the Indians in East Africa. the Armenians in Lebanon, the Jews in Palestine. While Arab Iraq has to include the Kurds of the North but exclude the Arabs of Ahwaz ; Muslim Sudan has to include the non-Muslim primitives of the upper Nile but exclude the Muslims of Somalia, Eritrea and Djibouti. To make matters still worse, Muslim egotism, blindness, false pride or puppetry to Western master, permitted the enemy to fan the fires of hatred and enmity between every Muslim country and its neighbours whether Muslim or otherwise. To increase the precariousness of the state's political existence, the enemy's agents and sympathisers were everywhere threatening to pull the state asunder. Since any kind of unity between any two parts of the Muslim World is strength for the *ummāh*, the enemy was always prepared to oppose it, or to dissolve it if it ever took place, or to plot agains it so as to render it precarious and ineffective. The Muslims, however, never prepared adequately never planned for the Islāmic state. They neglected to counterplan against the manoeuvres of their enemies, as well as to plan for the positive changes Islam demanded them to introduce. In consequence, most of the struggles were lost and the Muslim World is in worse shape having to fight anti-Islāmic forces which have become internal to every Muslim state.

(*b*) *The Crucial Need for Planning*. There is no escape from planning for the future. This need is dictated not only by the security of the Islāmic state to be, but equally by demands of modernity. Security demands the absolute integration and unification of all defence and security forces in any region where Islām is victorious. Such united forces must be redeployed to defend the region against the foreign enemy, not to assist any adventurer to seize power and crush the opposition Following the example of 'Umar ibn al Khaṭṭab (RAA) all restrictions against the movement of people and their goods within the region under Islāmic dominion ought to be lifted. Only with the free movement of capital, goods and labour will unity be real, and prosperity become possible within the Islāmic state. These socio-economic measures ought to be butteressed by unification of the currency, and the establishment of an integrated economic planning policy for all regions of the Islamic state. The individual Muslim states ought to yield their Western-type "sovereignty" to the Islāmic state. It is not necessary to yield the political institutions which have wielded political power in that state. But it is necessary to Islamize them ; *i.e.*, to reconceive of and restructure them as executive branches whose function is the application of the *sharīah* in their respective territories. Their pose as Western national sovereigns defining good and evil by their decree or majority vote is *Kufr*, and hence intolerable. This means above all surrender of their defense and security forces for integration with the forces of *ummah*, and the opening of their frontiers for free movement of people and wealth. All these steps must be planned, laid out with clarity and precision, and the people convinced of their worth and necessity before the Islāmic state come into being. Such measures are crucial if the Islāmic state, when it comes to be, is to be secure and viable, prosperous and permanent. Their necessity is obvious on purely material, common sense grounds, even if the resultant social order were not to be that of Islām.

That the social order must indeed be Islāmic necessitates the foregoing measures and much more. Every aspect of modern life will have to be examined from the perspective of Islam, and their discrepancy, whether apparent or real, must be removed. The comprehensive relevance of Islām to everything has to be established in the concrete. The following questions must be researched and answered ; and a blueprint for Islām exemplification in the Islāmic state prepared, studied and people made aware of it and convinced of its value.

What is an Islāmic state ? How does it function ? What is *shūra* and how does it function ? What is *khilafah*, and how is it established ? What is a constitution and how does it function in the Islāmic state ? What is the judiciary and what does the rule of the *sharī'ah* mean in practice ? What are basic human rights in Islām ? How can they be secured ?

What is an Islamic army ? With what discipline does it operate ? What is the relationship of soldier to officer, and army to people and the state ? What is *Jihad* ? How, where and when is it to be entered into ? What is the *Pax Islamica* ? What is its world-order ? What are its conditions ?

What is an Islāmic economic system, and how does it function ? What is an Islāmic bank ? an Islāmic factory ? an Islāmic store ? What is an Islāmic land tenure ? an Islāmic tax system ? an Islamic industry ? What is an Islāmic internal and external trade policy ?

What is an Islāmic school and what is Islāmic learning ? What is the relevance of Islām to each discipline or subject in the curriculum and to the curriculum as a whole ?

What is Islāmic recreation or Islāmic leisure ? What is Islāmic art ? What is the relevance of Islam to the theater, the cinema, radio and television, athletics and sports ? To their content and progamming ?

What is the role of Muslim women in the Islāmic state ? In the Islāmic social order ? In the economic, military, political, educational and recreational order of Islam ? What is the place and function of the minority ? Their rights and obligations ? When are the rights of dissent and revolution to be exercised and by whom ?

When all this is done, when it is clearly understood and strongly believed in by the majority of Muslims, and when these are so closely organized that the command of the leaders reverberates from one end of the societal pyramid to the other and produces instant action on the part of the rank and file then possible to say that preparation or planning for the Islamic state is complete.

B. SPREADING ISLAM : DA'WAH TO NON-MUSLIMS

1. The Marvel of the Spread of Islam.

Nobody who has observed the spread of Islām in the non-Muslim World, especially in the West, and still more especially in America, during the last thirty years can fail to wonder at the marvel, or to discern the hand of the Almighty at work. The configuration of so many diverse forces, arising in such disparate corners of the earth, determined by such varied chains of historical conditions all focussing upon North America is too much for any kind of planning except the divine. The causes of Muslim immigration to America are themselves the result of a tremendously complex development within the Muslim World, the Muslim seeking to immigrate would have never arrived to America's shores. They were inextricably interwoven with the relations those Muslims had with America (studentship and training, tourism, visits to relatives, fortune-seeking), as well as dependent upon America's rise as industrial and political world leader, relating itself to the Muslim World in a variety of ways.

On the other hand, the causes of the conversion of native Americans of Islām have to do with the whole intellectual and spiritual development of the West, a development which in the last three or four decades seems to have prepared large segment of the population to be receptive to the Islāmic message. The erosion of religious feeling, whether Christian or Jewish, the rise of the sciences of nature and technology under the aegis of a philosophy defiant of God and of everything supernatural; and the nihilism to which industry, urbanism and the whole structure of modern life—all these seem like the unfolding of real salvation plans for "*Heilsgeschichte*" aimed at the West. Another "fullness of time" seems to be in full bloom before our eyes, awaiting the one and only disposition of Islām to bring it to fulfilment. That is exactly the sort of grand design which only the divine Designer can bring about. May He be glorified and praised !

Two main forces are jointly responsible for this marvellous spread of Islām in America : the spiritual bankruptcy of the West and Muslim *Hijrah* or emigration.

2. The Spiritual Bankruptcy of the West

(*a*) *In the Realm of Knowledge of Man and Nature*. Exposure of Western minds to Islām and its living exemplars in Spain, Sicily, and the lands invaded by the Crusaders, and then to Islāmic ideas in the universities and libraries of the West, began a chain of events which broke the authority of the Church in the Reformation and liberated the mind from the dogmatism of Church doctrine. This was largely due to Islām's reconciliation of reason and revelation which made possible for first time that questions of religion be looked into rationally ; that they be subject to analysis and critique without offence to religious sentiment. This led to two significant results. Its rehabilitated science and cut it loose from all the shackles the church had imposed upon it. And it shook the foundation of the authority of the Church which bound salvation and grace to the total surrender of reason to faith. The progress of science in the investigation of nature, and rationalism in the examination of human life and destiny, culminated in the Enlightenment (the nearest that the West as a whole ever came to the world view of Islām) and to the scientific and industrial revolutions which followed. America, being the offspring of Europe, inconceivable without this Euorpean history which depended upon and received its first impetus from Islām.

In the Nineteenth Century, however, while the original gains made under the influence of Islām continued to develop and bring to the West significant fruits, countering forces emerged which challenged the Enlightenment principles. The West suffered a failure of nerves, retreated from its gains and lapsed into romanticism. The basic principle of romanticism is its mistrust of reason, and its vesting of feeling and experience with ultimate authority. The new emphasis upon experience made empiricism dogmatic, claiming not only that the truth of nature lies only in empirical investigation, but that the empirical investigation which science conducts is the only method which leads to the truth. Humans affair and spiritual matters had better yield to the same kind of examination (the scientific) or remain devoid of truth. This enthusiasm for science and the scientific method yielded great results for the mastery of nature. The industrial revolution followed ; and the West found itself strong enough with its own inventions to invade and colonize Asia and Africa.

Romanticism dethroned reason and set up feeling in its place. It rejected the Enlightenment definition of man in terms of reason which he shared with humans and which stood at the base of universalims. It sought a foundation for ethnocentrism and found it in feeling. Feeling is personal and ineffable, and provides its own justification. Upon it as experiential basis, the stronges ethnocentrism could be justified. Man was no more an instance of the universal man endowed with reason whose judgement must be the same, but the product of blood and soil of past generations and a fund of experience we call history. Hence, his difference from other humans is not only *de jure*, but provides for his self-definition, and a yardstick for his conception of good and evil. He is what he feels himself to be and is acknowledged by his fellows as sharing in their common fiduciary capital of feeling and experience. Thus the Asians and Africans are not human, if the Europeans are so. If Industrial expansion has brought them into contact with Europe, then certainly they may be subjected to serve the interest of their masters, the Europeans. For feeling does not only distinguish the European from the Asian or African ; it also ranks the European higher and prior.

As a principle of knowledge and ethics, feeling arrogated to itself the power to define the desired as desirable. This opened the gates of relativism and naturalism, and banished criticism in terms of the universally human. The national standard became the ultimate criterion for everything Nihilism was sure to follow. Being personal, feeling is not subject to any critique, not even in terms of one's feeling of yesterday, and much less in terms of other persons' feelings. The necessary conclusion is total absence of control, of criteria and checks upon the passing whims of the present. Eventually, the meaningfulness of life itself disappears since no permanent and universal meaning for it can be established.

On the other hand, scientific progress and the mastery over nature it produced led to an unprecedented abuse of nature. It was really a rape of the nature which produced nearly a century of drunken ecstasy and happiness. The promise of usufruct to which her abject subjugation led seemed to know no bounds. However immersion into a boundless usufruct of nature soon took its toal by adversely effecting the ecological balance of nature. Acidic rain, air and water pollution, decimation of numerous species of God's creation have indeed threatened nature's mechanisms of adjustment and restoration. Today the certitude of the scientist stands shaken. At the apogee of his scientific progress, the scientist knows that he is exploring an infinite jungle in the dead of night with a pocket spotlight. Sound as the edifice of technology may be, the ultimate bases of scientific knowledge are shaky. How many mistakes by man's technology can the delicate teleological balance of nature. the design and pattern of ends which Allah (SWT) has implanted in it, absorb without a violent reaction which will sniff out man and his vain claims ?

It is indeed strange that this whole pursuit of Western man has turned sour at the very moment of triumph. It has not yet occurred to him that nature is not his to subjugate or rape, but belongs to God ; that it is only a gift which He granted to man to usufruct in accordance with his moral laws. Western man's violation of these moral laws concerning the usufruct of nature finally turned against him. A moral usufruct of nature would be costly because it has to be responsible to God, the Creator and Giver of nature to man as a gift, and to one's fellow-human around the globe. It would imply careful undoing of every disorder caused by the usufruct. But the Western use of nature, whether capitalist, socialist, or communist, is undisciplined, indeed licentious. Hence, the reaction of nature and the dysfunctioning of its restorative powers to produce the elements necessary for the sustenance of life on earth.

(*b*) *In the Realm of Religion*. To many people in the West whom Allah (SWT) blessed with a critical mind, or who accepted the truths of the Enlightenment, or of the Radical Reformation, and especially to Afro-Americans, the myths of Hellenized Christianity have never been accepted. The incarnation of God the trinity, salvation as *fait accompli*, the kingdom of God as here and not-here, God's death and resurrection, vicarious guilt. suffering and merit, original sin and fallenness, the church as body of God—all these have remained utterly opaque and incomprehensible. Subscription to these myths hardly ever went beyond lip service. This was the case of the Werstern man with the non-Western mind. His innocence, his simple commonsense, his awareness of being imposed upon the Western establishment, and, if he were an Afro-American, his awareness of being pushed around from all directions by his slave masters, his will to life and happiness ; his sense of justice were all contradicted and violated by a religion which seemed to deny them theoretically, while its adherents denied them in practice. Nothing in the Afro-American's background could serve as a base for the myths of Christianity ; nothing in his veins and muscles could welcome its values ; and nothing in his experience could warrant acceptance of its paradoxes. Asceticism and monkery, world and life-denial, individualism and personalism, ran against the grain.

Christianity's blessing and recommendation of poverty agree with the slave master's design to exploit the weak and the poor, whether Afro-American or white, and keep them in poverty. Its rejection of culture and emphasis on simple faith agreed with the design to keep them ignorant. Its denigration of the body, of the flesh and of the world agreed with that of keeping them in abject conditions. Finally, its doctrine of original sin implanted in them a complex of inferiority, impotence and submission ; and its eschatology, a renunciation of any will to improve their conditions in this world. Their adherence to Christianity, whether Catholic or Protestant, was an ideal case for the Nietzschean analysis of "slave-morality," for the Marxist theory of religion as "opium," for Freud's projection of "the end of an illusion." Moreover, white racism made the Afro-American a pariah in the land of his birth, even after his emancipation from slavery. He is a *de facto* second class citizen, even when his acculturation has reached a very high degree. His black colour, as well as the ethnic complexion of all other Asians and Africans, and indeed, even of Mediterraneans, are regarded as pollutants always to be kept at a distance. Indeed, the gap between the races is widening, not contracting, despite the gains on the legal front. Official pronouncements on the parts of government and public bodies run far ahead of implementation ; and real gains may or may never follow upon them. The ideal of equal opportunity remains empty without the prerequisites of equal preparation and equal disposition towards them by those of North European extraction. That is why those underprivileged Westerners turned their backs upon Christianity as time had proved its incapacity to deal with social problems. True, the modern library is full of books and essays which seek to present Chritianity as religions of social concern. Their logic is little convincing because none has dared to address itself to the world and life-denial endemic to Christianity, or to the paradoxes at the core of its creed. The result is that these attempts of the theologians hardly ever go beyond the classroom. Outside, in the high rise office building where decisions are made, Christian concern is hardly ever a motive or factor whether in politics, education, government or business.

3. The Positive Appeal of Islam

Firstly, in contrast to the fallenness of man and creation, Islām teaches innocence. Man, it holds, is created innocent. Adam's disobedience was Adam's, not humanity's. Moreover, it was repented by Adam and forgiven by God. Man is placed on earth as God's vicegerent, to the purpose of fulfilling the will of God and proving himself morally worthy in the process. Indeed, Islām teaches that God created man perfect, in the best of forms, and equipped him with all that is necessary for fulfilment of his *raison d'ētre*. Hence, man is responsible and God will reckon with him. This world is the only world. *Al-Ākhira*, or the other world, is judgement and consummation of reward and punishment, not another world projected as alternative to this world. Nor is it postulated out of condemnation of this world and therefore plays a compensatory role for man's misery in it. Islām therefore finds the meaning of human life in man's cosmic function as the sole bridge through whose free action the higher part of God's will (*viz.*, the moral) becames fulfilled in history. Islāmic humanism does not deify man. Nor does it make him the measure of all things. It regards him as the crown and ultimate purpose of creation, but under God Whose servant he is.

Secondly, Islam teaches that poverty is the promise of Satan ; that the good things of life belong to the Muslims to enjoy ; that Muslims ought to be healthy, clean, strong and productive. It holds men responsible for their own misery, and urges them to rise, to strike out in the wide world and seek God's bounty. It regards productive work, bringing welfare to oneself, one's dependents and neighbours, to mankind, as worship. Even the rituals of worship Islām regards as posessing dimensions of worldly welfare whose non-realization vitiates the rituals themselves. God's vicegerency on earth consists of *tamkin fi al ard* ("seizing the earth with strength"), *isti'mar* ("reconsruction of the earth") and the doing of good deeds for the sake of and in obedience to God. God has made the world beautiful : He ornamented the firmament and created beautiful and goodly objects for man to use and enjoy. He has made the whole creation subservient to man to the end of proving himself morally worthy. Islam teaches that the realization of the absolute in this world is indeed possible ; that it is precisely man's obligation to pursue and actualize it. Hence, Islām impinges upon history and seeks to engineer it toward fulfilment of the divine patterns. For Islām, history is of crucial significance.

Thirdly, Islām teaches an ethic of action. In its purview, the personalist values of intention, good will, purity are indeed values. But if moral agent does not go beyond them, enter space and time, and there so interfere in the events as to deflect their courses towards the good, their value becomes very small. That is why Islām had to develop the law, to institute the *ummah* with political, juristic, economic, administrative and social organs to implement it. The unity of God, Islām interprets as transcendence before which all humans are equal in creatureliness, and hence as equally subject to the law of God whether as agents or patients of moral action. That is why the *ummah* is necessarily universal, intended to cover humanity. Islām countenances no colour, no race, no chosen people, complex, no nationalism, no relativism in anything that matters. Every individual, it holds, is a shepherd responsible for his circle ; and the *ummah* is responsible for mankind. The highest standard is justice. The Muslim is obliged to realize it in his person, his family, his country, the world, or on the other side of the moon Likewise, he is obliged to redress the balance of justice whenever and wherever it is upset by anyone, be he commoner or king.

Fourthly and finally, Islām teaches all the foregoing principles not as dogma, but critically, as the necessary conclusions of self-evident axioms and empiricat facts. It does not impose them *ex cathedrā* ; but invites all and everyone to look into them personally with all the insight and experience at his disposal. It promises him, should he nonetheless arrive at differing conclusions, that he will neither be hereticated nor persecuted, but respected and honoured. Indeed, Islām invites him to continue the investigation confident that eventually the truth will be discovered and understood ; that it will prevail. Islām's criticality and the intellectual and spiritual tolerance to which it leads, are not merely an act of courtesy and friendship on the part of kings, or simple individuals which a different temper may negate- nor the result of a majority vote in a convention which differing political or social winds may revoke. They are the dictate of God which nobody has the right to change. They are laid out by the Divine Author in the Qur'ān for all to read and examine, enthralled as divine law by the *shari'ah* courts in which any human anywhere may contend and receive justice without cost. And they are backed by the illustrious practice of millions of Muslims through 1400 years of history.

All this makes the appeal of Islām irresistible. It takes Islām to be presented in candidness and truth for it to win the mind and heart of the conscientious Westerner. The candid presentation of Islam is by itself a disarming mechanism. Allah's cause wins with little or no effort. And yet, how failing have Muslims been in fulfilling this most basic requirement of Islām ?

The evil of social injustice in North America is sufficient to pull its victim away from the *status quo* and urge him to seek a change. If he happens to be a Westerner with a non-Western mind, the dominant ideology or religion which had never penetrated his mind has less attraction and less power to keep him from seeking change. By themselves, these considerations prepare for conversion to another faith. The inherent merits of Islām, its values, its capacity to correct the evils of racism, of injustice, and to inspire men to assume the burdens of self-salvation by their own effort, do the rest. Hence, Islām has spread through *da'wah*, the clear call of men and women to specific duties and rights presented as God's commandments and perceived as sure solutions to the problems facing them.

As regards the Afro-American, Islām confers upon him as victim of injustice, a new identity as well as a new dignity. It teaches him that his misery is not imposed by God, but by His enemies ; that its removal is both possible and obligatory. And it promises him success here as well as in the hereafter if he succeeds in getting rid of injustice. In fact, it teaches him that with Islām, he cannot lose. Islām convinces him that the world is his to usufruct and enjoy under God. It sobers him up with a feeling of responsibility, with the demand that his burden is worldwide in scope and comprehensive in coverage. Islām balances this universal responsibility with ummatic mutuality, reassuring every member that the whole *ummah* is responsible for him. Upon conversion to Islām, the forsaken, downtrodden victim of injustice, and the racially discriminated against Afro-American, acquire as their own the world community of Islam with its billion souls.

4. Muslim Hijrah or Emigration.

(*a*) *The New Muhajirun* (*Emigrēs*). Muslims from the Near East and other parts of the Muslim World began to emigrate to the West, especially to North America, in the last quarter of the previous century. Their pupose was similar to that of other immigrants ; namely, escape from undesirable conditions in the old country and search for fortune in the new. Among the oldest immigrants who lived in group and succeeded in preserving their identity, are the Muslim communities of Cedar Rapids (Iowa), Detroit (Michigan). Edmonton (Alberta) and London (Ontario), Similar communities have established themselves in England, France, Italy and the Netherlands, coming from countries suffering under the colonial yoke of these European states. The Balkans, where the Ottoman Empire was receding ; Aden, which British rule had made an open road-stop to the ships of the world ; and Syria-Lebanon, where political unrest and administrative instability were at their highest, were the sources from which the immigrants to America came. The period between the two wars saw a large number of immigrants from Syria-Lebanon, the Balkans, South Russia, Caucasia and Turkey, were post-war conditions left much to be desired. Into Canada, there was an influx of Muslims from the British Commonwealth countries into which Muslims had first emigrated in pursuit of service with British forces. Very few Muslims came to study since domination of their homelands by Britain, France and Italy made it imperative for them to study in the colonizing countries.

It was after World War II that Muslim immigrants began to arrive in significant numbers. Independence from European colonialism and ascendency of America on the world scene attracted Muslim students from everywhere. Their protracted stay and free mixture with fellow students and community, and the opportunities for study *cum* work programs paved the way for them to change status or to return as immigrants if conditions at home proved to be less than expected. The failure of national governments to provide opportunities for employment and/or advancement, to solve chronic problems whether economic or political ; and their tyrannical police oppression provided further impetus to professionals and to the educated to emigrate. The desire to improve the quality of life and the promise of good fortune in America certainly played an important role. More important, however, was the near total bankruptcy of Muslim political regimes. That bankruptcy was evident on the moral, spiritual, civilizational, educational, economic, social and political levels. It is not surprising that all post-independence regimes in the Muslim World were caricatures of Western models, whether democratic or dictatorial ; that their social, political and economic ideals were caricatures of democracy, national integration and social justice. One and all, these regimes were proper instruments of neocolonialism, whether deliberately or otherwise Their essential disease was their separation from Islām, the only ideal capable of moving and inspiring the masses. Nationalism, secularism, democracy, socialism and communism are all impotent, and provide no "cause" worthy of the Muslim's idealism.

They are unable to command the loyalty of Muslims, and can furnish no internal energy to push the Muslim to self-exertion, or to hold him back in face of temptation. Such would have been provided by Islām and the *iman* quality it develops and requires as base and criterion. But Islām was deliberately neglected—indeed combated—by the said regimes.

Awareness of this bankruptcy flashed in the minds of Muslims in consequence of the dissolution of the Syrian-Egyptian union in 1961, the Pakistan-Indian War of 1965 and the Arab-Israeli War of 1967. The despair into which these debacles plunged the Muslim World vented itself in massive emigration to North America and other Western countries. In 1968, the Government of Egypt declared emigration legal and free. Hundreds of thousands of Muslim professionals and elite arrived in North America after these dates, constituting a real Muslim "brain drain".

Today, immigrant Muslims in North America number about two million. One fifth of them are here temporarily, as students and visitors ; the remainder as permanent residents. In Europe, beside the Balkans, where some ten to fifteen million Muslims are native, about ten million have established themselves as permanent residents or guest labourers. Most of the latter category are with little or no skills and hence occupy the social hierarchy. Nonetheless, the majority are strongly committed to Islam. Their children who are growing up as Europeans can, if they preserve their faith and wake up to its strength and potential, bring about significant difference in the religious life of Europe.

(*b*) *The Un-Islamic Emigrē Mentality*. Muslim immigrants have come to American and other Western shores to study or to seek livelihood and opportunity for professional advancement. In most cases, they are beggars at the Western altar of knowledge ; or receivers at those of Western affluence and economic development. This is not a foreigner's judgement ; but the way Muslim immigrants see themselves. To see themselves in this light is typical of the mentality of immigrants.

The "immigrant" mentality stands on two necessary assumptions : a country and culture *a quo*, bankrupt, despised, hated, forsaken, left behind ; and a country and culture *ad quem* awesome, superior, admired and desired but not-yet appropriated or mastered, distant and inappropriable. That is why the immigrant's mind remains "immigrant" for at least one generation until the memory of the old country and culture has completely faded away and the new generation has little or no experiential contact with it, whether directly or through their parents, if these have transplanted it into the new country and maintained it in ghetto-like isolation. That is also why the immigrant is necessarily a parasite to the country that adopts him, regardless of his productiveness. Whether such production is physical or professional, the immigrant's labour is an arithmetical addition to the country's production. His contribution merely increases what is already there, even if it consists of pure research in a laboratory or library. That he has fitted himself into it is the assumption of his employment, and the guarantee of his success. The immigrant's adjustment to his acquiescence to the latter's superiority. The immigrant may be able to invent a new tool or machine discover new facts, or originate a new way of doing things or solving problems. But as to ability to turn the country and its culture to a radically new orientation, and hence to the exploration of horizons genuinely new, the immigrant has none. *Ex hypothesi* he is devoid of other horizons, incapable of rising above the country and its culture to a vantage point from which to see other horizons. For, as immigrant, he is of the old country though presently not *from* it ; *from* the new country though not quite *of* it. The adoptive country accepts him with its hopes pinned on his children ; or better, grandchildren. In himself, he is a liability; at best, mere material or instrument for its own predetermined march.

Is this what the Muslim *muhajirūn* are ? Many of them indeed are precisely that. Their country needs not to bemoan their forsaking it ; and their culture is not one iota the poorer because of their loss. On the other hand, North America or the West has no reason to celebrate their immigration. Their contribution—nay, existence within its boundaries—is but a matter of statistics. Western culture has no reason to rejoice at their joining its camp because, incapable of critical outlook of it as a totality—however they may find some of its details annoying—the gates of significant contribution to it by whatever creative talent they may possess are for ever closed.

(*c*) *The Terrible Price of Emigration.* Viewed in themselves, those developments in the Muslim World which led to the emigration of Muslims from the homelands of their birth cannot be regarded except as tragic disaster. Consider that doctor or engineer! How many Muslim babies have to be born, how many have to be nursed and sustained, how many have to be fed and protected while going to elementary and secondary school and college—and many of these succeed through all these stages sufficiently to enter the professions? How many parents, guardians, governments and institutions have to spend in money, in energy and care, to send one doctor or engineer to professional school or higher educatioal institution? In short how many Muslims have to die—Yes, to die!—that one Ph.D., M.D. or engineer may be produced? Such a final product of inestimable value is the Muslim immigrant whom the Muslim World presents to America on a silver platter—free, absolutely free of charge! America herself would have had to spend the same amounts of everything, if not ten times more, to produce such a creature out of its own population. Now it is getting that person as a free gift. The whole Muslim World is pouring its "human butter" into the jars of America, and it is doing so in the constant flow that is known as the "brain drain." The same is true even if the immigrant had received little or no higher education. The fact he has been restless in his society entertaining ambitions for a brighter future, and possessed of such spiritual force and *ēnergie-vitale* to venture into the unknown in search of better fortune, is evidence of his being made of a different metal, of an all-too-precious, an all-too-scarce metal, the metal which is the spice and salt of humanity. For his promise and entrepreneurship, he is just as valuable as the learned. Nature produces his kind at the rate of one in a million. How many billions of genes have to combine and recombine to produce his kind ? And yet, he too is given free to America when he emigrates.

(*d*) *The Lost-Found Muhajirun* : *The Afro-Americans.* If the origin of the Islāmic presence in North America is still speculative,[28] the settlement of African Muslims in North America in sixteenth to eighteenth centuries is certain. The fall of al-Andalus to European power was a cataclysm for millions of Muslims. It is indeed probable that some of them who had fallen captive to Spanish power might have constituted the first human cargoes shipped to America. It is equally probably that those who were unable to cope with the cataclysm might have volunteered to travel to the unknown. Of such events we have not heard of any record. Later on, as sugar plantations in the Carribean Basin and the southern United States demanded more and more hands to work them, the Spaniard, the Dutch, the French, the English finally the American began a systematic raiding of the coasts of Africa south of the Sahara to hunt and seize humans for sale in the slave markets of the New World. There can be little doubt that some of these unfortunates were Muslims : for we know that by 1600 a large proportion of the populations of Mauretania, Senegal, Gambia, and Guinea, were Muslim.

The climate of slavery was not one in which the Muslim *muhajir-malgrē-lui* could perpetuate his religion or culture. A different religious practice by the slave would have been regarded by the slave master as the threat, as defiance and insubordination. That is why the masters systematically eradicated the cultural and religious inheritance of their slaves and implanted their own in them. They gave the slaves their own names.

forced them into their own faith, and rejoiced in seeing in them the reflection of themselves. Little did it matter whether the slave was replica or caricature. It was sufficient that his old identity was obliterated. As to the new identity, if he failed to realize it, the failure was from the master's point of view, natural because the slave was an *Untermensch*. Unfortunately, no things known about these early Muslims in America. Perhaps, some of their practices might have survived in Afro-American traditions : or, having affected those traditions, they may still be deducible from them.[29]

There have been conversions to Islām among these "lost" *muhajirun* from West Africa prior to the thirties, when Elijah Muhammad launched his movement. Their numbers, however, were small ; and their effect upon the Islamic presence in North America was scant. The first native American to bring significant change upon that presence was Elijah Muhammad. It was he who began in thirties to call the Afro-Americans to abandon the identity imposed upon them as slaves and return their original Muslim African identity. His call spread rapidly among them and assumed visible proportions in the big cities after World War II. The movement spread vigorousiy in the ghettos of American cities. The headquarters in Chicago became a beehive of Administrators, public relations officers, business entrepreneurs and preachers. The appearance of Malcolm X on the scene, his rebellion against Elijah Muḥammad following his conversion to Sunnī Islam in Makkha, and his assassination —all these helped the Islamic movement to grow. The demise of Elijah Muḥammad and Sunnī reforms of his son Warith al Din Muḥammad have relaxed the discipline and done away with the paramilitary youth organization, "Fruit of Islam." The vigour and enthusiasm are still the same, proportionate to the Muslims' capacities, and to the challenges. If anything, the movement is growing in number, in consciousness, in understanding of, and attachment to the genuine ideals of Islam.[30]

The Afro-Americans who responded favourably to Elijah Muḥammad's call did not do so out of their once-upon-a-time attatchment to Muslim African idetity. The memory of that identity had been blotted out of their minds by the centuries. The motivation for their re-entry into Islam came directly from the appeal of Islam, and from the malaise of their social cultural and spiritual existence. The latter was the corresponding subjective factor ; the ideals of Islam, the external objective stimulus. It is in the analysis of these factors that an understanding of their movement can be reached. The same factors were also operative in other Afro-Americans, as well as in White Americans who were introduced to Islam by Muslim Students, immigrants or visitors.

5. The Meaning of Hijrah for the Contemporary Muhajir.

(*a*) *The Muhajir's Awakening through Fire.* Allah (SWT) has His own designs. Even the most adverse conditions could be used by Him to further His cause. He has committed Himself (Gloried be He !) to give it victory over its enemies. Certainly, the estrangement of the *muhajir* on the emotional, cultural, social and religious fronts and his suffering of separation from home and kin, are the worst degradation, the greatest hardship to which he could be subjected. Without a doubt, the Hijrah is the hardest fate to befall anyone. Its devastation is neither bodily nor economic, by psychic. Yet in its darkest hour of tribulation and anguish, Allah (SWT) injects the light of Islam which fills the *muhajir* with optimism, confidence and strength. The *muhajir* may have come in as immigrants in search of Western knowledge, professional advancement, or well being. However, in his travail, he awakes to a fuller recognition of Islam, of his religion and cultural tradition. It is a new birth, a genuine transfiguration after immersion in tragedy. The vision of Islam is gain "in" his eyes, to see and to nourish with all the benefits of his new-world knowledge and experience. It is immaterial that his awakening has come late in life, or that it has come only at the challenge of the new culture. It takes a rubbing stone to prove the gold present in a piece of ore ; but that does not change its golden nature, nor its golden capacity to shine forth with proper prophylaxis. Once the Islamic vision is recaptured, a radically new outlook on one's life, one's Hijrah, on the new world and one's role in it, is obtained. How does Islamic consciousness achieve this ?

First, the Islamic vision removes all consciousness of guilt which the *muhajir* naturally feels at having emigrated and, as it were, forsaken the country of his birth. By making him personally responsible for the infavourable temporal circumstances which led his decision to emigrate, and blaming him if he suffered their continuation sitting idly by, Allah (SWT) incited him to take his fate into his own hand and alter it radically by emigration, if the road to a radical transformation of his country and its circumstances was blocked (Qur'an 4 : 97-98).

Second, Islamic vision removes all consciousness of guilt which the muhājir feels at his success in the new station. Many successful *muhajirun* are overwhelmed by feelings of gratitude to their adoptive country, which they seek to gratify by extraordinary acts of charity and thanks giving. Noble as this sentiment may be, it hides behind it a guilt complex which is appeased by the said acts of generous giving. Far more serious is the realization, implied in such guilt-feeling, of the absolute goodness and superiority of the new station in the person's total experience. The Islāmic vision wipes out this feeling (and its undesirable implication as well) by convincing the *muhajir* that the success is not his, but God's ; that it is God Who so oriented and manipulated his life and his new circumstances as to bring about success. Being God s grant to him, his success is innocent and free, perfect *halāl* which he may appropriate, possess and enjoy in good conscience (Qur'an 48 : 18-20), Indeed, the Islāmic vision opens the *muhājir's'* mind to a new vista of opportunities for greater success by its teaching that the whole world is the Muslim's to develop and usufruct in fulfilment not only of his basic needs, but also of his need for comfort, pleasure, joy and even luxury (Qur'ān 67 : 15 ; 8 : 26).

Third, the Islāmic vision lays before the eyes of the immigrant a new challenge and a new promise, by imposing upon him the duty to call all non-Muslims to Islām, and reminding him that in his word as well as in his deed, he is obliged to be the witness of God on earth, His vicegerent who establishes the institutions of Islām and makes God's word and judgement supreme. In North America, and the West generally there is so much atheism, so much abnegation of religious truth, so much rejection of the most fundamental tenets of Judaism and Christianity, so much scepticism, as to arouse and shake the least sensitive religious conscience. The person endowed with the vision of Islām cannot witness the scene with indifference. Sooner or later, he must come to the realization that his Hijrah from his land of birth, permitted and arranged by God and made by Him successful through re-establishment in the new land, were links in a nexus of purposes leading to his new assignment as "caller to God." His is a new task whose fulfilment awaits him as a new glory, a completion of his faith, a discharge of the most sacred duty, a testament unto history. Hasn't God sent him to his new "Madīnah" that he may freely call the people to the truth ? that he may by his eloquence, his *uswah hasanah* or good example, and by his "greater *jihād* convince mankind of the truth that God, ultimate Cause and ultimate End, sole Creator and Master, Whose commandments are before all humans to be obeyed ?

Fourth, the Islāmic vision provides the *muhājir* with the criterion with which to understand, judge, and seek to transform the unfortunate realities of North America and the West. Here are whole continents lending themselve to alcohol and drugs, to sexual promiscuity and exploitation, to family destruction and individualism, to cynicism and pessimism, to racism and discrimination, to the pursuit of Mammon at the cost of morals and justice, to the rape of Mother Nature, to political and economic imperialism against the rest of humanity. Certainly, these continents are groaning with pain, and crying out for help which only the person with the vision of Islām can give. For such a one is the only person professing as well as living a categorical NO ! to all these evils at once, the only one whose "NO" is backed up by the strongest arguments, the longest history and the greatest achievement of success at implementation.

Fifth, the Islāmic vision provides the *muhājir* with the deepest love, attatchment and aspiration for a North American reformed and returned to God, to carry forth His message and Law unto mankind, in this and all other spaces. Nothing would be greater than this youthful, vigorous and rich continent turning away from its past evil and marching forward under the banner of *Allahu Akbar* ! And none could be more motivated to bring it about, to serve it with all his energies and lays down his life for its cause than the person with the vision of Islām. Above all, the Islāmic vision provides the orientation necessary for the health and sanity of this continent, namely, the subjection of the life of the peoples to the moral law ; of their corporate and political conduct to peace and justice, to international assistance and cooperation with the victims of injustice and poverty everywhere. The Islāmic vision enables North America to increase its mastery and usufruct of nature, but disciplines it with responsibility to God for nature —His gift, and to the generations of the future—the other creatures of God who are no less our equals. The Islamic vision endows North America with a new destiny worth of it. For this renovation of itself, of its spirit, for its rediscovery of a God-given mission and self -dedication to its pursuit, the continent cannot but be grateful to the *muhājir* with Islamic vision. It canrot but interpret his advent on its shores except as a God sent gift, a timely divine favour and mercy. It will not fail to recognize in the person with Islāmic vision a *true* son, though born overseas, whose spirit is nearly identical with that of the early founders of the New World, who ran away from oppression and tyranny seeking a haven where they would *remould their lives* under God, seek His bounty and raise high His banner.

Sixth, the Islāmic vision provides the *muhajir*, as well as the native convert, with a sense of mission. A new calling stirs them from their complacency and spiritual lethargy. Their life is infused with a new meaning, a new significance whose dimensions are cosmic. In short, whereas before the vision of Islām has taken possession of them, they were *matēriel* and instrument for processes of history which they did not understand, let alone control, now they are subjects of these processes orienting them towards greater goals. They are people with a cause, with the noblest cause! As such, they are entitled to respect above all by their own selves, and certainly by their hosts whom they can now define better than the latter can, and whose goals in history and ultimate destiny they can better articulate.

(b) Da,wah to Non-Muslims: The Only Justification for Hijrah. Whether temporary student or permanent resident, highly educated or merely enterprising immigrant or native, black or white, the Muslim in America and Europe has but one justification—Islām! Without it, he is the most despicable of all. His material success avail him nothing in this regard. But how does Islām justify him?

(1) The Temporary Student. No Muslim has the right to come to America or to Europe as a student unless he regards himself as the last member of his species, and successfully complete all the duties incumbent upon him under this vision. As a last member of his species—*i.e.*, as last student to be sent by the Muslim World to the West - Islām prescribes for him to learn in his field, to surpass his non-Muslim teacher, to the end of making available to the *ummah* all that human knowledge has so far achieved. Furthermore, Islām prescribes for him to return to the Muslims as the *ummah* requires to satisfy her ends of that branch of knowledge. In this way, the *ummah's* need to send another Muslim to learn the same knowledge would be obviated, and the student in question has fulfilled the vision of his being the last member of his own species. His expatriation was a one-shot operation. No Muslim student would be justified in coming to the West for a partial fulfilment to be repeated by successive generations of Muslims without implying that the Muslims are incapable or unworthy of that knowledge. If the student is personally incapable of achieving this goal, then the expense the *ummah* incurs in sending him is futile and a more capable candidate should have been sent in his place. Allah will not bless a people who entrust commissions to people not prepared to carry them out. Moreover, the Muslim student in the West who is not in fact the last member of his species is devoid of shame, devoid of genius and devoid of spirit. How can he stand the thought that under Peter the Great, Russia sent her sons to study in Western Europe but they proved to be the last of their species, so that after the Red Revolution, no more students were sent *and* all the learning of Western Europe became Russia's ? The same is true of Japan whose sons have surpassed the West in their science, technology and productivity. And the same phenomenon repeated itself before our eyes in contemporary China. Why may the Muslims not do likewise ? Since Muḥammad 'Ali Egypt has sent generation after generation of students to study in Western institutions—without shame ! Worse yet, and tragically so, is the fact that the educational standards of Egypt are of the lowest in the world, deteriorating far below the days when Egypt was a British colony. Why ? Because simply, the student is devoid of *īmān*, devoid of that Islāmic determination to seek knowledge for Allah's sake—and hence, perfectly, absolutely and completely.

Abū Ḥamid al-Ghazalī concluded his advice to the learning youth with the following universal truth : "We sought knowledge for a purpose other than God's. But knowledge itself refused to be so sought." There should therefore be no wonder that the Wisdom sought for other purposes than God's (money, prestige, egotistic advantage) refuses to be so sought and fools its pursuers. Today, as far as educational policy is concerned, the crown of un-Islāmicity is worn not by Egypt, but by the oil rich countries who sent their sons to the West by the scores and at the most tender age, without the least notion of, not to speak of commitment to Islām's ideals. The casualty rate among them should be, not only the number of people who do not graduate, but also all those who suffer brain-washing during their expatriation, become Westernized and forsake the values of Islām. Moreover, the countless millions they spend on their students in the West could well finance the most sophisticated universities, libraries, and laboratories in their own Muslim lands, if only their leaders had the vision for developing such institutions. Instead of seeking out the brains and talents wherever in the Muslim World they may be, the oil rich countries fill the responsible positions with their own nationals even if they had the minds of goats ! No wonder then that their universities have the lowest standards, despite their astronomical budgets. They are doomed always to depend upon the West for Education. The greatest part of their funds are spent on grandiose building projects, on oversize inefficient bureaucracies, and temporary hospitality for an excessive number of "expert" guests, while their professors have neither office nor research leaves, suffer from meager salaries, and find no encouragement for their safeguarding of academic standards of their students. Anxious to show their superiors quick quantitative results the administrators want everybody to graduate and receive a diploma. University laboratories are unable to provide the research services. Libya's much proclaimed and tempting "*Madīnat al-Ilm*" project, for example, and the University of Riyad's *Al-Majlis al-Ilmī* have not yet achieved anything worth mentioning, eight years after their foundation.

(2) The Permanent Resident. As immigrant to the West, whether highly trained or merely enterprizing, the Muslim has no right to continue his Hijrah. He is a *mnrtazib*, a mercenary, who has forsaken the *ummah* in pursuit of an egotistic advantage. His *rizq* is nothing but the crumbs which fall from the American table and which he devours without shame. For he gives nothing in return. He only receives. The professional or entrepreneurial service he renders to America is only a quantitative increase of its wealth, a mere addition. It is of no significance to America as such, which can do without it just as well. Though some humans are born beggars, the position of such Muslims is intolerable. The Qur'ānic permission to emigrate and strike out in the world seeking better fortune (Qur'ān 4 : 96) does not apply to them. For, although they are indeed hard pressed at home and need to change their living circumstances, they forfeit that right by giving it priority over Islām. The Muslim is not free to undertake the Hijrah if it constitutes a net loss to the *ummah.* There must be some other activity or consideration coupled with the Hijrah to make it beneficial to the *umm h,* along with its benefit to the *muhajir.* The Muslim emigrant in America or Europe who is only and purely a *murtaziq* runs the double risk of abnegating his religious duties and of children growing up as non-Muslims. These risks are near certainties when, as the hypothesis indicates, the person's Hijrah is for solely and purely mercenary reasons. It is otherwise with the *muhajr* who may have undertaken his Hijrah for similar reasons but who has awakened to Islam through the fire of shock alienation and self-contempt, or who has undertaken his Hijrah for Islamic reasons, which is rare. Such a person is a *da'iyāh* to Allah, a caller of men to God, to His cause of truth and justice, of virtue and beauty.

Certainly, such awakening or motivation, whether ante-or post-emigration, justifies the *muhajir* and ennobles his Hijrah. The *rizq* (material benefit) which befalls to him as a result of his emigration is innocent and may be a reward Allah has conferred upon him. Such a person loses no opportunity to call his fellow humans to God. His life as an individual, father, spouse, or friend is lived as an exemplification of his spiritual calling. It is one of the instruments he uses in his call, along with logic reason, instantiation of values in his life or that of others, to energize and move the hearts and minds of the called. For once he becomes Islāmically aware, it is necessary for him to relate himself to *his un-Islāmic surroundings by active Islāmization* or *da'wah*. *Da'wah*, the call to Islām, is inherent in Islāmic consciousness. The consciousness determined by Islām cannot but seek to increase in piety and service the humans with whom she enters into contact where these, like her, are already determined by Islām. When those humans are not Muslim, the obligation to bring Islām to them is *a fortiori*.

Da'wah to non-Muslims becomes under the Islāmic vision an absolute necessity. Awareness of God is awareness of ultimate reality and knowledge of the *summum bonum*. The good or value is moving and demands to be actualized. It is a self-contradiction to claim to know the good and to be unconcerned about its actualization. The Muslim *da'iyah* is therefore acting under a necessity that is rational.

Equally, *da'wah* is the noblest charity of which the Muslim is capable. Allah (SWT) has assigned to it the highest order of rank among the ethical virtues. He said : "And who is nobler of speech than he who calls [men] to God, who does the good deeds and affirms this as his Islāmic action ?" (Qur'ān 41 : 33). Having found the ultimate good, what is nobler than willing to share it with one's fellowmen ? To argue that *da'wah* is an invasion of the one's fellows lives which belong exclusively to *them is sheer insensitivity to their fate ; and, in fact, it can* proceed from a person who has never been touched by the good.[31] The person who has cannot, without compromising his very experience stop himself from making his experience known to others. For it is equally axiomatic that value is to be realized, and that the realization of value in space and time is also a value.

III

Iqamat Al-Hijrah and World Order

There have been empires before the Hijrah ; and many emperors sought to bring the world under their dominion. The pre-Hijrah empire-builders had an idea of world order which brought mankind and the four corners of the world under the sway of one power system. They may also have thought of converting mankind to one religion—their own. The process by which the world empire was to be built was conquest ; and religious conversion was then to proceed by force and intolerance. The concept of world order in which various human groups are constituent members was not born. Nor was the idea known that there could exist a law to govern relations between human groups. Pre-Hijrah history has known numerous cases of one group imposing its law upon other groups as it imposed its gods, customs and power. The scions of the West point proudly to the seventeenth century Dutch thinker Grotius who laid down the humblest beginnings of Western international law. Their pride blind them to the fact "their" Grotius was inspired by the same seventeenth century Rationalism—the forerunner of the enlightenment—which benefitted deeply from the epistemology of Islām. And they are utterly ignorant that the Hijrah had created in 622 A.C. the first world order and based it upon an immutable law, beyond the ṭempering of all emperors and power seekers.

The Islāmic state which the Prophet Muḥammad (ṢAAS) founded as the Hijrah was not only a state, but a world-order. The political system which the world had known until then were known to him. The Empire model was embodied in Byzantium and Persia ; and the tribal model throughouṭ Arabia, Beyond them, seafarers and travellers must have brought accounts of other states living in isolation from the rest of the world. The Prophet (ṢAAS) sought a new definition of man and citizen that neither the empire nor tribal model presented. To define man by reference to the political power structure under which he lives, or to the tribe into which he was born, or to the land in which he and his parents grew up is to insult and to degrade him. Far more becoming and dignified for a human is to be identified through the religion or ideology he keeps. Rulers, blood relations, skin colour and real estate all have their relevance, but that relevance should never figure in the human definition. Man is greater than any or all of these elements. It is his vision of reality, his philosophy of life, his perception of the world and history that ought to define and identify him.

First, the Covenant of Madīnah founded the Islamic community as a multi-tribal, multi-racial society of free individuals who deliberately decided to join it as an organization for mutual help, social order and cooperative pursuits for the benefit of all.

Second, the same covenant founded the Islāmic state as consisting of a Muslim community and Jewish community, each of which is autonomous as regards its internal affairs, free to order the lives of its members according to its own religious, social and political tradition. It bound both communities to the Islāmic state whose security they must honour in return for the Islāmic state's guaranteeing of the community's security against its enemies. Because the overarching state is Islāmic, the non-Muslim community members are not obliged to serve in its forces or wage its wars, but are exempt. Should anyone of them desire to do so his services cannot be rejected and he must be refunded the *jizyah* tax he paid for the security of the community guaranteed by the state. This does mean that the non-Muslim community is not to be called to Islām. Aut it does mean that, should its member reject the option of Islām, their decision must be honoured and respected by the Islāmic state and the Muslim community, Undoubtedly, the Prophet (ṢAAS) called the Jews of Madinah to Islām before and on the day of the Hijrah. Those who accepted the call became *ipso facto* equal members of the Muslim community. Those who rejected the call—and they were the majority—were constituted by him into a community constitutive of the Islāmic state, and free to live as Jews, to enforce the Torah, their law and to perpetuate their culture under the protection of the Islāmic state. This was a tremendous step forward for them ; for they existed in Arabia only as clients of Arab tribes, and hence as second class citizens. Overnight, they became as Jews full citizens of the the Islāmic state.

Third, the Covenant of Madinah founded a new world-order. This was not mere treaty or convention between states, nations or tribes ; but a super-state, with a head, a Government, an army, a permanent law and policy. Indeed, that was the Islāmic state, functioning as the instrument of world order. At birth on the first day of Hijrah, it had two constituents : The Muslim *ummah* and the Jewish *ummah*. Eight year later, it added a third constituent. the Christian *ummah* composed of the Christians of Najrān. That same year, according to some reports, it welcomed a fourth *ummah*, the Sabaean Persians. Following the conquests of Persia, India and Central Asia, the Hindu and Buddhist communities were admitted as separate *ummahs* enjoying the same privileges of membership as the Muslim and Jewish original members. Obviously, the Islāmic state was conceived to be the world state entrusted with the task of establishing world peace and maintaining universal order. Islām furnished the law under which world peace and an order of freedom and justice were to be maintained. Though furnished by Islām, this law of nations is not the law of the Muslim community imposed on everyone, but the rational mechanism for an international order of peace, equality and justice. Unlike modern international law, which recognizes only sovereign states and is impotent to enforce itself, Islāmic international law recognizes sovereign state as well as human groups and individuals. Anybody can be a plaintiff or a defendant under it, and justice without cost so that everyone has access to it.

The world order Islām envisages is one in which humans, wealth and ideas move freely everywhere, in peace. Life and property are sacred, inviolable rights to all. And everybody may choose the *ummah* to which he belongs, the place of his residence and the work he wishes to do. No nation has the right to isolate itself from the rest of humanity, and if it did, it would violate international order and law and expose itself to forceful action by the world state. To build around any group of humans an iron curtain and to isolate it from mankind is an offence against humanity.

To celebrate the Hijrah today is indeed to make it alive for the present, to *vergegenwārtigen* it. Nothing could be more needed, more appropriate and more salutary to this whole world of ours—sick by any standard because of inter-nation competition for the rape of nature and subjugation of mankind —than the world order the Prophet Muḥammad (*ṢAAS*) has founded fourteen centuries ago. Indeed *Iqamat al Hijrah* today would mean nothing unless the Muslim possessed with the vision of Islām began in earnest to call his fellow Muslims first, and mankind second, to join the ranks of those who seek a new world order of peace and justice, of piety and virtue.

Allah (*SWT*) commands action by argument and by example. May we all prove worthy of His revelation !

NOTES

1. Qur'ān 74 : 5.
2. Qur'ān 4 : 33.
3. Qur'ān 25 : 30.
4. Qur'ān 73 : 10
5. Qur'ān 29 : 26.

6. Qur'ān 4 : 88
7. Qur'ān 2 : 34 ; 7 : 10 ; 17 : 61 ; 18 : 51 ; 20 : 116.
8. Qur'ān 14 : 4.
9. Qur'ān 2 : 135 ; 3 : 67, 95 ; 4 : 124 : 6 : 79, 162; 16 : 123.
10. Qur'ān 93 : 1—11.
11. Qur'ān 12 : 12, 63 ; 15 : 9.
12. Qur'ān 11 : 7 ; 67 : 2.
13. Qur'ān 75 : 36 : 23 : 116.
14. Qur'ān 45 : 17 ; 42 : 13.
15. Qur'ān 3 : 32, 132 ; 4 : 58, 68, 79 ; 33 : 21.
16. Qur'ān 3 : 104, 110.
17. Qur'ān 2 : 3-5 ; 23 : 1—11.
18. Qur'ān 22 : 41.
19. Qur'ān 2 : 143.
20. Qur'ān 49 : 13.
21. Qur'ān 2 : 30.
22. Qur'ān 33 : 72.
23. *Ibid.*
24. Qur'ān 2 : 34 ; 7 : 10 ; 17 : 61, etc. The subservience of creation to man may be found in 13 : 2 ; 29 : 61 ; 31 : 29 ; 35 : 13 ; 39 : 5 ; 14 : 33 ; 22 : 65 etc.
25. Qur'ān 2 : 256 ; 10 : 99.
26. Exception must be made of Malaysia which Allah (SWT) had blessed with a government and a regime designed to serve the Muslim segment of its population. This coincidence of government design and people's aspiration is the essential reason or base for harmonious relations between them. The Malaysian situation must be studied by all Islāmic movement leaders for its uniqueness in post-colonial history. However, like

most Muslim states, Malaysia is exposed to the same perils. The enemies of Islām are constantly urging the rulers to oppress their own people, the Muslims who are the base *raison d'ētre* of Malaysia itself, to the end of incepting that process of reciprocal alienation between ruler and ruled. The ability of both ruler and ruled to resist this sinister neo-colonialism is limited, and the news of repressive measures being taken by the government not against the communists or anti-Muslim groups, but against the staunchest defenders of Islām is ominous.

27. Qur'ān 22 : 41.

28. Some contemporary historians have speculated that Muslim sailors were the first to cross the Atlantic and arrive to the shores of the New World. Others speculate that Christopher Columbus had been guided to these shores by Andalusian or Moroccan Muslim navigators and assistants whose services he had bought. The consequence of these speculations was not renewed scholarly examinations of the claims, but widespread propagation and expansion of them. The reason is that the speculations had something of the spectacular about them. The Muslims of the world were anxious to rediscover their legacy of past accomplishments and the Muslims of North America were anxious to discover their roots in history. The greater and more daring the accomplishments, and the farther back the roots of American Muslims could be projected/discovered, the greater the psychic satisfaction. It was therefore natural for them to be delighted by such claims, to repeat, expand and spread them with relish.

29. To this author's knowledge, no such study has yet been made. Arguments have heard pointing to the existence

of village or town names, of words in the Afro-American vocabulary, and of memories still being told. But a Scholarly study of the matter is badly needed and eagerly awaited.

30. Although no adequate statistics are available. native American Muslims number about two million. One and a half million belong to the World (Community of Islām in the West (recently renamed. "The American Muslim Mission"). About half a million Afro-Americans are Muslim and belong to various other organizations, mostly Sunnī. About 5000 white native Americans have joined the rank of Islām.

31. The reader is kindly referred to this author's article on "The Nature of Islāmic Da'wah *International Review of Missions*, Vol. LXV, No. 260 (October 1976), pp. 391-409".